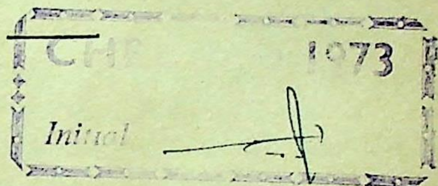


# A BRIEF HISTORY OF
# SANSKRIT LITERATURE

(Vedic and Classical)




BY

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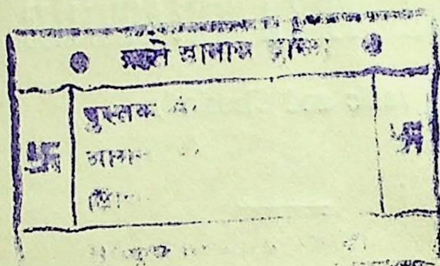
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# PREFACE

Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature* and two other works subsequently published—Dr. Keith's *Classical Sanskrit Literature* and *Sanskrit Drama*, are excellent works in their own way. Dr. Winternitz's work, of which only the first volume has appeared in its English garb and the second volume (dealing with Bauddha and Jaina Period) is lying in the press, promises to be the most comprehensive and complete account of Sanskrit literature appropriate to the vastness of the subject. But these works are too extensive and detailed for the needs of the student, and for the use of a beginner. Moreover, they are not easily available to all. I have therefore been urged to bring out a text-book primarily for the use of the students of the Indian Universities preparing for the B. A. and M. A. Examinations in Sanskrit, which will provide in one volume of moderate bulk and price a compendious History of Sanskrit Literature based on the results of modern research, from which they may obtain a tolerably fair idea of the most salient and fundamental features of the various branches of Sanskrit literature.

I have taken particular care to give within a brief compass, in a style plain and lucid, a well-grounded exposition of the leading features of this vast literature in its different branches. In considering the form in which the text is presented herein, and the reliable grounds marked out by those scholars who have

devoted their life-long labour and thus can speak authoritatively on the subject, upon which I have attempted to build my own work, this book, if placed in the hands of our young University students, will, it is hoped, prove a useful guide and help in the study of the sanskrit literature in its various departments. With a view not to leave the study incomplete and for the benefit of the Honours students of the University, I have added a brief history of the literature of the *Vedic Period* in the form of an Appendix which contains everything which is worth knowing about this important branch. To enhance the usefulness of this work, a chapter has been added which gives some account of India's foreign relations and her principal ancient dynasties.

In determining the approximate age of the Sanskrit poets and their works, I have followed a new plan in arranging their names chronologically under *successive centuries* bringing them down to the close of the 18th century A.D. And this part of the book will be found to contain, in suitable places, short *reviews* of the works of the most famous and well-known authors, which will show what kind of estimate has been formed of our classical authors by the competent critics other than the Indian.

As I have made an effort to place within the easy reach of our students the leading informations of almost all branches of the vast Sanskrit literature in a single volume together with the results of the modern researches for which I have amply borrowed ideas of the scholars mentioned in the beginning and of others,

the possession of this little volume will, it is hoped, fulfil the requirements of those for whom it is intended.

The rich field of the Sanskrit literature has been explored by the Western scholars and their labours are enshrined in works which are not, as I have stated above, easily accessible to the general public and particularly to the student. I have made an attempt in this small volume to present the most salient features of the *results of their researches*, so that they may be read, used and enjoyed by our students which will create in their mind a curiosity and longing for knowing and reading more and extending their study. I should not therefore conclude without an expression of my indebtedness to those brilliant scholars,

SENATE HOUSE
Calcutta University.
Sept., 1933.

KOKILESWAR BHATTACHARJEE.

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# A BRIEF HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE

## INTRODUCTION

The scholars of Europe, who were pioneers of, and rendered services to the cause of Sanskrit Literature, may be mainly classed under the following headings :

(1) Travellers and Missionaries ; (2) the English ; (3) the Germans ; (4) and the enterprises of other scholars.

1. *Travellers and Missionaries.* Of all of them, the names of Abraham Roger and Jesuit-father Johann Hanxleden are most important.

(*a*) **Abraham Roger** (1651) was a Dutchman by birth who lived the life of a Christian missionary in the north of Madras. He translated the proverbs of *Bhartrihari* (भर्तृहरि) into English. These were then translated into Portuguese and were drawn upon by Herder afterwards for his "Stimmen der Volkar."

(*b*) **Jesuit-father Johann Hanxleden** (1699) worked in the Malabar Mission. His first Sanskrit grammar was of great help to Bartholomeo (1776-89) who subsequently wrote two Sanskrit Grammars.

2. *The English.* (*a*) **Warren Hastings** (1773), the Governor-General of India, had a work compiled as *Bivadarnava-setu* ( विवादार्णव सेतु ), which contained

everything about Indian Law of Inheritance, Family-law etc. It was first translated into Persian which again was translated into English by Halhed (1776) under the title of "A Code of Gentoo Law."

(*b*) **Charles Wilkins** translated *Bhagavad-gita* ( भगवद्गीता ) in 1785, *Hitopodesa* ( हितोपदेश ) two years later and *Sakuntala* ( शकुन्तला ), an episode of the *Mahabharata*, in 1795. He prepared a Grammar of Sanskrit in the year 1808, in which Sanskrit types were used for the first time in Europe.

(*c*) **Sir William Jones** (1783), the Chief Justice of the Fort William, founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the publication of periodicals, and especially, editions of texts. *Sakuntala* was translated into English in 1789, this English translation was again translated into German by George Forster in 1791, and the latter translation stimulated men like Herder and Goethe. Sir William then translated *Ritu-samhar* ( ऋतुसंहार ), the text of which was in Sanskrit, in 1792 and *Manu-samhita* ( मनुसंहिता ) in 1797.

(*d*) **Henry T. Colebrooke** was certainly the real founder of Indian Philology and Archœology. A young man of seventeen years, he began his career as an officer in the year 1782 and afterwards translated a digest of the laws of succession and contract. We are indebted to him for his essays on Philosophy and religious life, grammar, Astronomy and Arithmetic. In 1805, he wrote the famous essays on the Vedas ; gradually edited *Amarkosa* ( अमरकोष ), the grammar of *Panini*, *Hitopodesa*, *Kiratarjuniyam* ( किरातार्जुनीयम् ) and translated some inscriptions. He presented, on his retirement to the East India Company, a collection of

manuscripts which cost him about £100,000/- which is still preserved in the India Office in London.

3. *The Germans.* (*a*) **Alexander Hamilton** was detained in Paris by an order of Napoleon. He was joined by poet **Friedrich Schlegel** who learned Sanskrit from him (1803-04). As a result, a book appeared which contained translation of the *Ramayana* ( रामायण ), some passages from *Manu* ( मनु ), *Bhagavadgita* (भगवद्गीता ), and the *Sakuntala* ( शकुन्तला )-episode of the *Mahabharata* ( महाभारत ), and he (Schlegel) became the founder of the Indian Philosophy in Germany.

(*b*) **August W. Schlegel**, brother of the poet, was the first man in Germany who extensively published editions of texts, translations and philological works. He was the desciple of Chezy, a Frenchman and was the first professor of Sanskrit in Germany. In 1823 appeared the first volume of the periodical "Indische Bibliothek" and an edition of *Bhagavadgita* with Latin translation. The edition of the *Ramayana* was published in 1829.

(*c*) **Franz Bopp** learned Sanskrit from Chezy in Paris together with Schlegel, became founder of "Comparative Philology", and published "Conjugation System" (1816). As an appendix to the latter, he published some episodes from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* in metrical translation, selected *Nala-Damayanti* episode from the *Mahabharata* and made it accessible by an annotated edition with criticism and Latin translation. It has become traditional at all Western Universities to select *Nala*-episode as the preliminary reading for students. Some other episodes were also published by Bopp. His Sanskrit

Grammar (1827-1834) and his 'Glossarium' (1830) have done much to further Sanskrit study.

(*d*) **Herrn Wilhelem Humboldt.** His remarks on Schlegel's *Bhagavadgita* are—"It is perhaps the deepest and loftiest thing the world has to show," and "my constant feeling was gratitude to Fate for having permitted me to live long enough to become acquainted with this book."

(*e*) Philological investigation of the Vedas began in 1838 with the edition published in London containing the first eighth of *Rgveda* ( ऋग्वेद ) by **Friedrich Rosen.**

**4.** (*a*) *Enterpises of other Scholars.* French Orientalist **Eugene Burnouf** taught and gathered a cricle of pupils at College de France and laid the foundation of the study of the Vedas (1840).

(*b*) We must not forget to mention here the chief event in the history Sanskrit research with the appearance of the great "Sanskrit Dictionary" compiled by **Otto Bohtlingk** and **Rudolph Roth** published in St. Petersburg which was complete in 1875.

(*c*) In 1852, **Albrecht Weber** began to write a complete history of Indian literature, a second edition of which appeared in 1875.

(*d*) Mention should also be made of the publication of a "catalogue" by **T. Aufrecht** containing catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts of all important libraries of India and Europe.

(*e*) The "Pali Text Society" founded by **J. W. Rhys Davids** greatly helps in the investigation of Buddhistic literature and **A. Weber** again has opened up another great branch of literature—the writings of the Jainas.

# CHAPTER I

## 1

## *VALUE AND IMPORTANCE OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE*

(*a*) The importance of Sanskrit literature consists in its *originality*. The Indians had fully worked out their own national culture, unaffected by foreign influences, long before Alexander's invasion in the fourth century B.C.

(*b*) The successive waves of foreign invasions have not affected the national development of the unique civilisation, life and literature of India and they continue still the same even now.

(*c*) Comparison of the conjugational system of Sanskrit with that of Greek, Latin, German and Persian has led to the foundation of the "*Science of Comparative Philology*" and this is entirely due to the discovery and study of Sanskrit.

(*d*) The earliest picture of the development of *religious* ideas and evolution of *Philosophy* can be traced in the Sanskrit literature. The foundation of the science of *Comparative Mythology* is entirely due to the study of the Vedic literature.

(*e*) The intrinsic value and æsthetic merit and the luxuriance of Sanskrit literature are second to none. Striking thoughts and noble sentiments often reward the student of Sanskrit at every step.

## *TWO PERIODS OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS*

**(1) Vedic Period.** Three well-defined literary strata are to be distinguished in the Vedic period.

(*a*) The first stratum *consists of the* four Vedas—the outcome of a creative and poetic age, in which hymns and prayers were composed in beautiful, simple and natural language, offering *Ghrita-oblation* or *soma-juice* to the Gods. It is a period poetical in matter and form, and the thought natural and concrete (1800 to 1500 B.C.).

(*b*) The creative period at last came to an end. New prayers were no longer offered to the Gods, and the priests ceased to produce poetry. They transferred their creative genius to the elaboration of sacrificial ceremonies. The result was a complex ritual system. These are written in prose and the style is cumbrous, rambling, disjointed, artificial and abstract. In this period, the system of four castes assumed definite shape (800 to 500 B.C.).

(c) The third stage comprises *sutra* period. The *sutras* (सूत्रs) deal with vedic ritual (श्रौत) on the one hand, and domestic rites (स्मार्त) on the other. The works were composed in compressed and condensed prose like the wording of a telegram. This period is connected with Panini. 500—200 B.C. may be assigned as the chronological limit within which this form of literature was developed.

N. B.—Phonetics, Grammar, Astronomy, Medicine, Mathematics and Law were also cultivated during this period.

**(2) Classical Sanskrit Period.** (*a*) Unlike the literature of the latter Vedic period, the whole literature of this period was treated in poetry and the prose was entirely neglected. It was mostly composed in अनुष्टुभ वृत्त of four octo-syllabic style.

(*b*) The style is artificial and the poetry is made cumbrous by the use of huge compounds and the application of the elaborate rules of Poetics. Metres used are various.

(*c*) This literature, however, has a peculiar beauty and grace of its own, which it is not possible to produce in any other language, to understand which one must see with one's own eyes the mighty and sublime grandeur of the natural scenery of India.

*(d)* This period achieved distinction in many branches of literature—Epic, Lyric, Didactic Poetry, Drama, Tale, Romance.

N. B. This period is not a new invention but is contemporaneous with the offshoots of the Vedic literature (about 200 B.C. and closing after 1000 A.D.). Alongside of the Vedic literature, there grew up side by side : (i) the rich Pali literature of the popular Dialects and (ii) the earliest form of narrative Epic poetry, germ of which may be traced to the Vedic hymns and the Brahmins.

## Vedic Literature *vs.* Classical Literature

Classical Sanskrit literature differs from the Vedic literature in the following respects :

*(a)* The important deities of the Vedas have sunk into a subordinate position and new Gods—Brahma, Vishnu, Siva have arisen.

(*b*) Vedic literature is optimistic, the classical literature is pervaded by the doctrine of Transmigration.

(*c*) The introduction of the marvellous and supernatural into the description of human events.

(*d*) Prose employed in the यजुर्वेद and in the ब्राह्मणs is entirely neglected, and the bulk is composed in *sloka* metre.

## II

## *RELATION BETWEEN SANSKRIT AND PRAKRITA*

Sanskrit as regulated by Panini in the 4th century B.C. was a form of speech used by the Brahmin priests in their sacrifices (यज्ञ) and speculations, but other people used a vernacular in a primary प्राकृत, which was *afterwards* stereotyped and preserved in grammar and literature. Secular literature was, it has been suggested, at first composed by that primary प्राकृत and it was afterwards transformed into Sanskrit. Even the two Epics were long current in Prakrita (प्राकृत).

But this theory is hardly tenable. The language of the Rgveda and the later संहिताs and of the ब्राह्मणs, आरण्यकs and उपनिषद्s is a hieratic language; it was not the language of everyday conversation among the priests which latter was a continuation of the language of the prose of संहिताs। The spoken language of the higher circles of Society in Panini's time was what he lays down as "भाषा" (*Bhasa*) and it has hardly any phonetic variation.

In other circles and places, there was rapid variation or change in the language. As the Aryans moved from the Punjab and spread to मध्य देश (कुरुक्षेत्र), ultimately settling on the Ganges in the East spreading to कोशल and विदेह lands, in these different localities and communities there must have arisen linguistic change. Thus Prarita was created. How far it differed from the "भाषा" we cannot say.

Inscriptions of अशोक (3rd cent. B.C.) and Epigraphic records used प्राकृत, and not Sanskrit. Indeed it is reasonable to suppose that a popular secular literature existed in प्राकृत, but there existed also an aristocratic literature in Sanskrit allied to the भाषा of Panini, current among Rhapsodies and their patrons. Of this Sanskrit, the Epics रामायण and महाभारत are the great monument. This language is more practical, less archaic, freer and more inaccurate. Panini ignores this language of the Epics and the Epics also ignore the rules of Panini.

The Epics must have existed in *Sanskrit* before पाणिनि, and the idea of translation about Christian era is not tenable. And from the Epics, Kavya was directly developed. Patanjali (पतञ्जलि) made a distinction between the correct speech used by the *sistas* (शिष्ट) and less precise speech of others who used incorrect sounds and forms *apabhasa* (अपभाषा). Such distinction is found in the रामायण also. The practice of drama also shows this distinction. अश्वघोष's drama, in 2nd Cent. A.D. shows higher characters spoke Sanskrit and men of lower rank Prakrita. There was also dramatic recitation in Sanskrit of Epic materials, and dramas were no doubt comprehensible to all.

Patanjali also indicates the existence of almost all branches of Sanskrit literature. He also knows literature of secular form, Rhapsodies reciting stories at dawn, tellers of such tales as—यवक्रीत, प्रियङ्गु, ययाति, वासवदत्ता, सुमनोत्तरा, भीमरथ। वाररुच-काव्य is mentioned by him. Verses of heroic, erotic and didactic character were already known ; proverbs and various beast-fables also were known to him.

That अश्वघोष (2nd cent. A. D.) chose Sanskrit to popularise Buddhism is significant. Sanskrit lyric existed as early as the 2nd cent. B.C. and the महाराष्ट्री Lyric of हाल must be the outcome of the study of Sanskrit models.

Sanskrit was employed in conversation among upper classes and the people understood it easily.

*Peculiar Characters of this Sanskrit.* (*a*) Although there are eastern and northern variations in speech and usages of सौराष्ट्र, काम्बोज and others mentioned in यास्क, पाणिनि, कात्यायन, पतञ्जलि, but all these are of a period *anterior* to Classical Sanskrit, which is illustrated by absence of variations, as it stands under the control of Panini. But yet the poets deviate from the rules of पाणिनि in accordance with the Epic. Poets follow the Epic, indifferent to पाणिनि's rule. On the other hand there are poets, whose fondness for grammatical studies is attested from अश्वघोष downwards as भट्टि, रावणार्जुनीय etc.

(*b*) This Classical Sanskrit was deeply affected by the contemporaneous existence of Prakrita beside it and it appropriated many words from the latter. Words of Dravidian origin are found in the Sanskrit of the south ;

there are numerous borrowings also of Greek astronomical terms.

Sanskrit shows its divergence from Prakrita in stereotyping its phonetics. Prakrita remains in touch with progress of language and thus there has been developments from अश्वघोष through भास to कालिदास। But in कालिदास's time प्राकृत also became stereotyped. For recognition of changes we must have recourse to a *third* form of speech—अपभ्रंश which took its place by the side of Sanskrit and Prakrita in 550 A.D.

III

*Sanskrit Language*

How Classical language grew out of the archaic Vedic language and how also Vernacular language originated require to be considered now.

The Hindu Aryans after detaching themselves from the Persian branch of the family settled in the Punjab and near the river Saraswati. Thence they overran the plains of the Ganges and spread themselves over आर्यावर्त, Aryanising the primitive inhabitants and driving all who resisted them to south and towards the hills. *

1. Ancient High Indian Language is based on the Ancient Persian and Avestic not far removed

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* A doubt suggests itself whether the conquerors were a foreign people or a portion of one of the Native States who outstriped their fellow citizens in knowledge etc. The different appearance of higher classes from शूद्रs may be accounted for

from Indo-Iranian Language. (This is the common original language inferred from a comparison of the language of the Vedas with the old Persian of cuniform in Scriptures and of Avesta).

N. B. This High Indian has a subjunctive which is missing in Sanskrit and a dozen infinitive endings of which only one remains in Sanskrit. Aorist disappears in Sanskrit.

The Vedic prose and language of the ब्राह्मणs, आरण्यकs, उपनिषद्s have preserved relics of Ancient High Indians (differing little from पाणिनि's grammar—spoken in his time by scholars and priests). प्राकृत was common language of the mass.

Sanskrit language is a highly elaborated form of language originally brought by the Indian branch of the great Aryan race into India. This tongue became soon *modified* in various ways. The processes leading to this modification are—

(*a*) Within the vedic language itself, transitions can be distinguished. Forms belonging to different linguistic periods were employed side by side. Vowel contractions occur frequently and the use of *l* as com-

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by difference of habits and employments and heriditary separations and professions. Neither in the Vedas, nor in the codes there is any allusion to a prior residence or to a knowledge of any country out of India. The common origin of Sanskrit and other languages of west proves a connection between the nations but it proves nothing of the place or time where that connection took place. Emigration has not spread in a circle, but from East to West. Where could that central point be from which a language could spread over India, Greece, Italy and yet have Syria, Arabia, Chaldea untouched ?—*Elphinstone*.

pared with *r* was on the increase. Nominative plural in आसः was on the decline gradually. Many *old* words (सिम्) were going out of use and *newer* ones (लक्ष्मी etc.) being introduced. The spoken language of the vedic priests was perhaps less archaic and less poetical.

(*b*) Subsequent changes caused by successive *losses*—

(i) Dropping of Synonymous by-forms in declension.

(ii) Disappearance of Subjunctive mood.

(iii) Reduction of a dozen infinitives to a single one.

(*c*) Changes due to—

(i) Regulating efforts of grammarians specially in phonetic combinations (सन्धि).

(ii) Extension of the vocabulary, in spite of grammar, by derivation and composition. Continual borrowings of new words occured from a lower stratum of language. Existing words changed their meanings.

2. The spoken language, when once its character and general form had been settled, separated into two lines ; the one elaborated by the learned (classical or '*bhasa*' Sanskrit), the other popularised or provincialised by the unlearned. The first with its grammar adopted the designation संस्कृत (Sanskrit) ; while the name प्राकृत (Prakrita) was assigned to the *common* dialect.

The ancient representatives of this dialect—the महाराष्ट्री, the सौरसेनी, and the मागधी—as well as an earlier

form पाली—show extensive *corruptions* of Sanskrit sounds and hence they show no very wide departure from the संस्कृत। These extensive corruptions must be accounted for by the supposition that the language had to be spoken by the races whose original tongue was not Sanskrit. They could not pronounce संस्कृत words properly and thus प्राकृत form represents *their* pronounciation of it. Thus when the Aryans came in contact with alien races in their progress through the country and they were able to impress their own individuality upon these aliens, by actual conquest and by more durable influence of an imposing culture—they learnt their language, at the same time preserved some of their original words and phonetic peculiarities. Thus the few sounds unknown to Sanskrit are also found in प्राकृत।

### *Subdivisions of Prakrita or Popular Dialect.*

The earlier form called पाली or मागधी has an extensive literature. Pali is connected closely with the language of Rock inscriptions of the 2nd & 3rd centuries B. C. The language of गाथा as found in the Lalitavistara (ललितविस्तर) is still earlier form of the popular language. Hence four stages of प्राकृत or the spoken language of people preceded the modern vernaculars :—

(*a*) गाथा (*b*) Inscriptions (*c*) Pali
(*d*) प्राकृत of the Dramas.

The principal forms of प्राकृत as explained by वररुचि (1st Cent. B. C.) in his grammar—महाराष्ट्री (now marathi) used in the stanza and सौरसेनी (now *Braj* of N. W. Provinces) used as a conversational dialect in the

prose passage and मागधी (now Bihari) used by the extremely degraded characters in drama—represent the *last* stage of development in the direction of modern vernaculars.

3. Modern Indian Dialects (about 1000 A.D.) developed out of middle Indian Dialect, and from 12th century these can show literatures of their own. The most important is Hindi (मध्यदेश).* दार्द्दिक or modern पिशाच language (काश्मिरी) forms a separate group. Important Dravidian languages are—मालयालम्, कानारिज, तेलेगु, तामिल of southern India. These are not Indo-Germanic.

## IV

## *CHRONOLOGY OF THE VEDIC PERIOD AND THE CLASSICAL PERIOD OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE*

Several people are of opinion that the Hindus did not pay much attention to the historical order of things. But we are reluctant to believe in this assertion. On the contrary we hold, with Winternitz, that there has been in India historical writing. We find numerous inscriptions accurately dated, although no importance was attached to the questions of what was earlier or later. "Extreme indifference reigns with regard to literary ownership and the desire of asserting it." Often an author veils his name

* Subdivisions—कनौजी, बुन्देली, व्रजभाषा ; हिन्दुस्थानी is also a form of Hindi. Now it is the *linguafranca* of India.

in a modest incognito. But in the later centuries author's names were found with full details. The authors of astronomical works give the exact date on which the books were completed. Since the 5th century A.D., *inscriptions* began to give information about the dates of many writers ; and to these inscriptions we are indebted for the surest dates of literary history from which it is also hoped to get solutions of chronological problems largely in future. The oldest dateable inscriptions are the edicts of Asoka of the 3rd cent. B.C. Paleographical facts prove undeniably that *writing* must also have had a long history *before* the time of Asoka.

1. As definite dates do not begin to appear until about 500 B.C.,—the time of the death of Buddha in whose doctrines the latest religious views are presupposed,—the chronology of the vedic period must be conjectural, being based only on language, style and religious views. Prof. Jacobi puts the beginning of the Vedic period at 4000 B.C. ; Tilak to the year 6000 B.C. ; Max Muller at 1200 B.C. If we consider the affinity of the Avestan language with the Vedic dialect, the date ought to be put at 1500 B.C. Vedic literature is of higher antiquity than that of Greece.

2. The visits of foreigners are a few landmarks of the Post-Vedic period. These visits and the accounts left by them throw some light on specific facts of literature. Alexander's invasion (327. B.C.), Megasthene's sojourn at Pataliputra (300 B.C.), visits of Fa Hien (399 A.D.), Hiouen Thsang (630—

645), It-sing (671—695), Alberuni's history also ; (he accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni in his invasion of Guzrat, 11th cent. A.D.)

(3) Epigraphical researches will throw and have thrown considerable light in this direction. The rock and pillar inscriptions of Asoka (3rd century B.C.), coins and copper-plate grants show the existence of a rich court poetry and vernacular dialect from the 1st century A.D. onwards and centuries before it.

## V

## *INTRODUCTION AND AGE OF INDIAN WRITING*

(1) *Kharoshthi* written from right to left was employed in Afganisthan and Northern Punjab. It was borrowed from the Aramaic type of semitic writing, in use during the 5th cent. B.C. and was introduced into the Punjab during the period of Persian domination in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.*

(2) *Brahmi*, the true national writing of India, (accordiug to Prof. Buhler) and originally containing only 22 alphabets is written from left to right. It

* "The alphabet which the Phoenicians and Aramacans (Ancient Palestine) invented has had a triumphant march as a means of commercial and intellectual intercourse amongst the various peoples. The Babylonians forced by their movement westward into the proximity of Egypt and ancient civilisation of Asia Minor knew how to impose their script upon the whole of the nearer East. Hebrews and Arabs are *semitic* people." (*Literary* Hebrew and the more popular *Aramaic* dialect.)

2

was introduced about 800 B.C. by traders coming by way of Meso-potamia and is based on northern Semitic or Phoenician type. This script falls back to the oldest North Semitic characters. Other scholars hold this to be an *independent* Indian alphabet.

Twenty-two symbols were elaborated by the Brahmins into full *Brahmi* Alphabet of forty-six letters and arranged thoroughly on scientific method. It is recognised in Panini's Grammar (about 4th century) B.C. It had two types, northern (देवनागरी) and southern (from which descended five scripts—Canarese, Telugu etc.)

The *materials* used for writing were wood, birch-bark (भुर्ज-पत्र), palm-leaves (तालपत्र), and very frequently copper-plates (for deeds of gifts). Paper was introduced by the Muhammedan conquest and the oldest paper manuscript is supposed to have been written about 1223-24 A.D.

Vincent Smith remarks that the art of writing might have been introduced by merchants on South-West coast as early as the 8th Century B. C. or even before that time.

N. B. Manuscripts began to be collected in 'Libraries' in monasteries, temples, palaces of princes, even in private houses. King *Bhoja* (11th Cent. A.D.) had a famous library. Buhler found in 2 Jaina libraries in Khambay over 30,000 manuscripts and in the palace library of Tanjore over 12,000 manuscripts. We now possess, through the munificence of Indian government and perseverance of English, German and Indian scholars, enormous mass of Indian-literature accessible in manuscripts.

# CHAPTER II

## COMMON SOURCE OF EPICS AND PURANAS

## ( महाभारत, रामायण, पुराण )

### I

### *GENERAL REMARKS*

In ऋग्वेद, there are certain संवादs or dialogues or conversational hymns. Hertel and Schroeder regard them as a kind of dramas. All these poems are but ancient आख्यानs or ballads forming the source both of the Epics and other dramas. These ballads consist of a narrative and of a dramatic element. The Epic developed from the narrative and drama arose from the dramatic element.

These ballads are :—

(1) Dialogue between पुरूरवा and उर्वशी (ऋ: X, 18 stanzas). This is told in the शतपथ ब्राह्मण (XI, 5,1) in a narrative. There is hint of the same in the काठक of कृष्ण यजुर्वेद, in the बौधायन श्रौतसूत्र, in the हरिवंश, विष्णुपुराण, कथासरित् सागर and in a drama of Kalidasa.

(2) Dialogue of यम and यमी ( ऋ: X, 10). An old myth of the origin of human race from a first pair of twins underlies the conversation.

(3) सूर्यासूक्त (ऋ X, 85) composed of 47 verses, describes the marriage of सूर्या with सोम (the moon).

(4) In शतपथ ब्राह्मण, we find the Indian legend of the flood.

(5) In ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण, the legend of शुन: शेप* (in which गाथाs and verses are scattered amidst prose). It must be later than the verses of the ऋग्वेद (ऋ: I. 24-30 and IX, 3). In the सांख्यायन श्रौतसूत्र it is mentioned as an आख्यान to be told at the पुरुष-मेध।

(6) There are some narratives in the ब्राह्मणs dealing with the *origin* of some matter, to which also creation-legends belong; such as, tales of creation of night and of winged mountains—found in मैत्रायनी संहिता।

(7) We find in the ब्राह्मणs myths and legends (इतिहास), cosmogonic myths (पुराण), epic song verses (गाथा), songs in praise of heroes (नाराशंसी).

Thus the beginning of Epic poetry reached back into the period of the ब्राह्मणs.

While the Brahmins were pursuing their *sacrificial* science, other circles already turned their attempt to the highest questions treated in *Upanishads* (क्षत्रियs, even women and lower castes as रैक्क). From these circles proceeded forest-hermits, wandering ascetics who not only renounced the world but kept aloof from sacrifices or ceremonies of the Brahmins.

(8) The recital of some narrative poems formed part of sacrificial festivals. In a horse sacrifice, daily recitation of legends of gods and heroes lasted a whole year. Also two flute players, a Brahmin and a warrior,

* King Harishchandra of the race of Ikshakus, got a son by worshipping God Varuna, on condition that he may be sacrificed to the latter. But the son escaped to a forest where he, by offering 100 cows to Rishi Ajigarta receives Sunas-sepa one of his 3 sons and offered as a substitute to Varuna.

were present who in their गाथाs glorified the generosity of warlike deeds of the prince who was celebrating the sacrifice. After funeral also, mourners plunged their sorrows by the recitations of old इतिहासs and पुराणs. There were also cycle of ballads, such as सुपर्णाख्यान—ballads dealing with the legends of कद्रु and विनता—snake-mother and bird-mother, the enmity between गरुड़ and सर्पs dating back into Vedic times,(—तैत्तिरीय संहिता, VI. I. 6. I ; Kathaka, 23, 10 ; शतपथ ब्राह्मण, III. 6. 3.) : and there is also interwoven the legend of "twirl of the ocean".

Thus there existed, similar to vedic संहिताs, a large collection of myths, legends, tales of demons, snake-deities, of old sages and kings of ancient times. There were thus professional story-tellers and inexhaustive stores of prose and verse narratives forming public property which was drawn upon by the epic poets, and by the Buddhists and the Jainas as well.



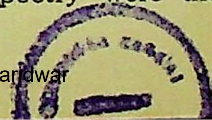
II

## *HISTORICAL NUCLEUS & GENERAL CHARACTER*

## (A) THE MAHABHARATA.

Long before the Epic existed, songs must have been sung of the great combat of nations around which the Mahabharata centres, and of the deeds of Rama, the hero of the Ramayana. Many other heroes and great events in other royal houses also must have been sung. These have not all vanished, some of them in fragments have been preserved in the Epics. The reciters of heroic poetry were the





bards ( सूतs ) staying in courts of the kings who sang their songs on occasion of the feasts and during the war. There were also travelling singers ( कुशीलवs ) who publicly sang these with lutes.

Bharatas are mentioned in ऋग्वेद as a warlike tribe and in the ब्राह्मणs, भरत—son of दुष्यन्त and शकुन्तला—is regarded as an ancestor of the भरत-race. Among their descendants, कुरु, a ruler, was prominent, and the whole race is known as कौरव and their land कुरु-land—as stated in the यजुर्वेद and the ब्राह्मणs. A family feud leading to a great battle ruined the family of Bharatas. This bloody battle is perhaps the *historical event* and is the subject of the heroic epic. In course of centuries, an enormous mass of poetry has collected *around this nucleus.* Other heroic legends of various famous kings of primeval times found their way into the poem. Many of these recited by the ministrels belonged to the Epic as *episodes.*

(i) The more these heroic songs grew in favour and became popular, the Brahmins took possession of the Epic poetry which thus became a *religious* poem. Thus, legends of gods, didactic sections referring to the Brahmanical philosophy, ethics and law were received into the *Mahabharata.* Thus they welcomed this popular Epic as a medium for propagation of their own doctrines. They thus inserted into it legends of ऋषिs, the ancestors of ब्राह्मणs who obtained tremendous power.

(ii) The Epic poetry was cultivated more in those regions, where the worship of *Vishnu* as the highest deity prevailed. *Siva*-legends are also not wanting which show as later additions.

(iii) There were also in ancient times circles of people—the ascetics, forest-hermits, founders of sects and monastic orders—which were already numerous even before Buddha. These people preached legends of saints, aphorisms, doctrines of renunciation and contempt of worldly pleasure, self-sacrifice, love for all beings, and also fables, parables, fairy-tales—to illustrate their philosophy and ethics by examples. Thus, this *ascetic poetry* became incorporated into the *Mahabharata*. Ascetic poetry rises to a general morality of mankind, love towards all beings and renunciation of the world. Traces of this literature are first to be found in the *Upanishadas* and later in *Mahabharata* and *Puranas* and also in sacred texts of the Buddhists.

(iv) Most of the fables, parables and moral narratives are found in didactic sections and in Books XII and XIII. Many of these recur in the Buddhistic, and later collections of fables and fairy tales are transmitted into European narrative literature. The oldest Indian fables serve for the inculcation of *Niti* (worldly wisdom), as well as of *Dharma* (morality).

**In the didactic section of the Mahabharata, the Bhagavad-gita is the most famous.**

*Bhagavad-gita* was first printed in 1809 (Calcutta). Alberuni knew it perfectly and appreciated it highly. In Europe it was first made known by Wilkin's English translation 1785. W. Von Schlegel's edition appeared in 1823, through which, Humboldt became acquainted with it and in his great enthusiasm—he placed it above Lucretius, Parmenides and Empedokles and said that it

is "the only true philosophical poem which we can find in all the literature known to us." [Eng. translation by Thomson 1855. Telang (in verse) 1875 ; John Davies 1882 ; Edwin Arnold 1885 ; L. D. Barnett (Temple classics) : several German translations. ]

### Teaching of the Gita

"Liberation (मुक्ति) is but coming to or *union with* God. This is to be understood, as elevation of the soul to a godlike state, as individual perpetuation in the presence of God" (XI, 55—Trans. L. D. Barnett). Three paths, viz. path of dutiful desireless action, path of knowledge, and the path of the love of God lead to this goal. The first may be combined with the third and the love of God leads to knowledge of God—thus meeting the second path. Thus contradictions are overcome in the ethical teachings. The doctrine that God is *separate* from the world (VII, 7 ff and VI, 30 ff), though at the same time *immanent* in it—is taught as a great secret (IX. 1 ff). There is third also when *Krishna* is not mentioned at all, but *Brahman* which speaks as the sole and the highest world-principle".

"*Gita* was originally a text of *Bhagabatas* wherein भक्ति with योग-doctrine of desireless action was taught on the foundation of *Sankhya*. There is evidence from inscriptions that in 2nd cent. B. C. *Bhagabata*-religion had found adherents among the Greeks in *Gandhara* (see Marshal, J.R.A.S. 1909, p. 1053). The *Old Gita* was written at about this time as an *Upanishad* of the *Bhagavatas*."

*Gita* is known to the poet Bana (7th cent) as a portion of the *Mahabharata* with *Upanishads* and *Sutras*. In the early

centuries A.D., it received its present form at the hands of orthodox *Brahmins*. "Forcefulness of its language, splendour of images and metaphors, breath of inspirations pervading the poem, poetical beauties as well as the moral value would find still greater appreciation."

### Srikrishna in the हरिवंश and in the महाभारत

हरिवंश is a supplement or Appendix to महाभारत, of 16,374 slokas *i.e.* longer than Illiad and Odyssey put together, loosely connected mass of texts—legends, myths and hymns—for the glorification of God Visnu and not a work of *one* compiler.

One of सोम's grandsons was पुरुरवा whose love with उर्वशी is related in a very archaic form resembling शतपथ ब्राह्मण (३४ अध्याय). Among the descendants of पुरुरवा are नहुष and ययाति। यदु the son of ययाति was the ancestor of यादवs, to whom वसुदेव belongs, as whose son कृष्ण, the God विष्णु was born. Then in Sec II of हरिवंश, legend of कृष्ण is told. It is the कृष्ण of the legends as related in हरिवंश and in other पुराणs, who is now honoured as a lofty God and as an ideal of perfect manhood by millions of Hindus. It is not the कृष्ण of the महाभारत, the cunning friend of पाण्डवs of whom Megasthenes talked as 'Indian Hercules'. It is not the कृष्ण who lifted up गोवर्द्धन as against इन्द्र, and organised रास-dance with cow-herdesses, as we find in हरिवंश (Hari-Vansha).

कृष्ण the son of देवकी is mentioned in the छान्दोग्य उपनिषद who expounds a doctrine similar to that in the भगवद्-गीता। This old sage of the उपनिषद can not be separated from कृष्ण of गीता। For this reason western scholars hold the view that there were 2 traditional कृष्णs who were

merged into *one* deity at a later time and introduced later into the Epic. It is probable that कृष्ण was the founder of भागवत-religion* and hence made into an *incarnation*. He was introduced into the epic to justify the shady acts of the Pandavas.

## III

## *THE SOURCE OF THE MAHABHARATA*

Songs in celebration of great heroes were current in India from the very oldest time. The deeds of Indra and other gods and heroes were narrated and lauded in the Rig-veda in which we may trace the fore-shadowings of the Indian Epic poetry. We know also that इतिहास or legendary narratives were recited orally at the time when गृह्यसूत्र and मनु were composed. (compare मनु "he is to repeat portions of ऋक यजु साम अथर्व......गाथाs, नाराशंसीs, इतिहासs and पुराणs.") Such narratives recounted the adventures of the popular heroes of the period and they had no doubt rested on a basis of historical truth. *Nirukta* (निरुक्त) contains many prose tales.

Janamejaya (जनमेजय), the son of Parikshit (परीक्षित), and Bharata (भरत)—appears in the ब्राह्मणs. In the works belonging to the यजुर्वेद, there is frequent mention

* Another text book of the भागवतs is the Narayaniya (नारायणीय) (XII, 334-51). It teaches that perfection can only be attained by भक्ति and the grace of God who appears here under the name of नारायण। The paradise of the devotees of नारायण is श्वेतद्वीप।

of कुरुs and पञ्चालs and an anecdote is told in the Kathaka (x,6) of धृतराष्ट्र—the son of विचित्र-वीर्य। The name अर्जुन occurs in a ब्राह्मण but as secret name of god Indra. In सांखायन श्रौत-सूत्र we find first mention of a *war* in कुरुक्षेत्र disastrous for the कौरवs. In आश्वलायन गृह्यसूत्र, भारत and महाभारत are mentioned. पाणिनि teaches the formation of युधिष्ठिर, भीम and विदुर and the accent of महाभारत। पतञ्जलि alludes to the battle between पाण्डवs and कौरवs.

From these we conclude, महाभारत must have existed already in the 4th cent. B. C., as the सूत्र-works of सांखायन, अश्वलायन and पाणिनि can scarcely be later. Indians set the reign of युधिष्ठिर and the war at the beginning of कलियुग in B. C. 3101. The names of historical kings बिम्बिसार, अजात-शत्रु, शिशुनाग, नन्दs do not occur in महाभारत which shows its "prehistoric" character and hence indicates great antiquity.

## IV

## *THE AGE OF THE MAHABHARATA*

The poem takes the part of the *Pandavas* as brave, noble and good, and represents the *Kauravas* as treacherous—and in contradiction relates that *Kaurava* heroes fall through treachery and in unfair fight ; all treachery emanates from *Krishna*. He is the instigator of all deceit and the poem defends all the conducts of the *Pandavas.*

The Epic had not always its present form—opening section of the *Mahabharata* and table of contents which we find in first two chapters—are not in agreement with our text. All these show that it is not the work

of one single author but consists of earlier and later portions belonging to different centuries. Hence some parts of the महाभारत reach to the Vedic time (archaic form shows it) and others synchronise with Purana literature of later times.

We are told that व्यास narrated his work in (*a*) a short summary as well as (*b*) in detailed presentation: उग्रश्रवा the reciter of outline says, he knows the poem as consisting of 8,800 verses, while व्यास declares, he composed the poem in 24,000 verses. (*c*) Immediately afterwards it is said that व्यास also composed an epic of one hundred thousand verses—30,000 for Gods, 15,000 for गन्धर्वs and 10,000 for men.

It shows that the महाभारत only gradually grew from an originally smaller poem to its present extent.

The great Epic poem, the *Mahabharata* is not so much a poem with a single subject, as a vast cyclopœdia of legendary history, Ethics and Philosophy. Its compilation appears to have proceeded gradually for centuries and has passed through several stages of construction and reconstruction, until finally reduced to an orderly shape. The principal story occupies a little more than one-fifth of the whole and this has been overlaid by successive incrustations and incretions. The entire work consists of 100,000 slokas and 220,000 lines in 18 *Parvas* equal to about 8 times as much as Illiad and Odessy put together.

(1) 500 A. D.—the *Mahabharata* as a sacred text book and religious discourse *not different* from it as at present (2) 700 A. D.—Kumarila quotes passages from almost all books. 600—650 A. D.—बाण and सुबन्धु knew it.

In *Kadambari* विलासवती was present at the public recitation of the महाभारत. Such readings of the *Mahabharata* take place now-a-days for religious instruction. (3) Inscription from Cambodia testifies to such public readings and this by manuscripts presented from India. (4) Deeds of land-grants giving दान-धर्म quoted as a text and in one inscription the महाभारत is called as collection of one lac verses. (Hence it must include Books XII and XIII and *Harivansa*). Hence we may conclude that in 3rd and 4th century A.D. it must have the same form which it still has to-day. It contains many references to Buddhism and Javans *i.e.*, the Greeks are mentioned (after Alexander's invasion). Hence its present form is not earlier than 4th Cent. B. C. and not later than the 4th Cent. A. D.

## V.

## *THREE STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE MAHABHARATA*

(*a*) The historical germ of the Epic is to be traced not later than the 5th cent. B. C., if not still earlier. In the यजुर्वेद, the *Kuru and Panchala* tribes appear to be united and in the काठक, वैचित्रवीर्य is mentioned. The आश्वलायन गृह्यसूत्र (5th Cent. B. C.) mentions a *Bharata* and a *Mahabharata*. To this period also belongs the figure of *Brahma* as the highest God. The evidence of Pali literature goes to show that

in बुद्ध's time ब्रह्मा already occupied that position. The आदिपर्व states that the poem originally consisted of 8,800 slokas only.

(*b*) In the second stage, it swelled to 20,000 slokas, and two other gods *Siva and Vishnu* were introduced on a level with *Brahma*. We find from Megasthenes' accounts that these two gods were already prominent and this fact points to 300 B. C, More-over, the Javans or Greeks were mentioned as allies of *Kurus* and even the *Sakas*.

(*c*) The third or the last stage in which it almost lost its character of heroic poem ( काव्य ) and it assumed the form of a *Smriti* work or a didactic poem (नीति or धर्म ग्रन्थ ) intended for religious instruction of the Hindus, must have taken place by the beginning of the Christian Era or at least by about 350 A. D.

**The Proofs are :—**

(1) That it had its present shape with *Harivansa* is proved by an inscription in a land-grant of 532 A.D. Other land-grants of 450 and 500 A. D. also prove this.

(2) Poets *Subandhu* and *Bana* ( 7th cent. A. D. ) mention the recitation of the महाभारत in temples and they were also acquainted with *Gita* and *Harivansa*.

(3) *Kumarila's* writings ( 8th cent. A. D.) show his acquaintance with the Mahabharata in its present form.

(4) *Sankaracharyya* ( 8th cent. A. D. ) quotes the महाभारत as a *Smriti*.

(5) क्षेमेन्द्र's abstract भारतमञ्जरी ( 11th cent. A.D. ) does not differ from the text of the Mahabharata as we have

it now. A Javanese translation (11th Cent. A.D.) also proves it.

## Traditional Indian View on the Mahabharata Age

Pandit *Satyabrata Shamasrami*, in his introduction to निरुक्त, places the composition of *the Mahabharata* in 2400 B. C.—Panini also in his opinion flourished about this period. महाभारत existed before Panini. वासुदेवार्जुन—युधिष्ठिर are mentioned by Panini, and characters *from the Mahabharata* are used in पतञ्जलि's illustration. But there is not one allusion to राम or दशरथ in the works of these grammarians—not even in अमर-कोष। Bhandarkar places Panini in the 7th century B. C., and सत्यव्रत places him in 2400 B.C. Prof. Dikshit proves from astronomical allusions in the Epic that महाभारत was in existence between 3000 to 1500 B. C. The Hunas are mentioned in it.

*Vyasa* is the great-grandson of *Bashistha*. भृगु—the author of मनुसंहिता is a brother to वशिष्ठ। व्यास flourished at the end of द्वापर and in the beginning of कलियुग (of which 5031 years have elapsed). सिद्धान्त शिरोमणि, बृहत् संहिता and राजतरङ्गिनी tell us that the battle of कुरुक्षेत्र was fought in the 654th. year of कलियुग and that शक-era commenced when 3179 years of कलियुग* had elapsed. The statement of *Brihat Samhita* that *Saptarsi-mandala* (सप्तर्षि मण्डल) was with *Magha* (मघा) when the battle of *Kurukshetra* was fought also leads to the same conclusion. भृगु (of मनुसंहिता) flourished therefore

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* Hence 3179 + 1852 (present Saka-era) = 5031, 5031 − 1930 Christian era = 3101 B. C. 654 years must fall *within* the सन्धि-period of Kali and Dwapara.

before 3000 B.C. But Dr. *Jaswal* says that महाभारत war as given by पुराणs occured about 1424 B. C.—J. B. O. R. S., I. p. 111.

*N. B.* Commentators—*Nilakantha, Arjuna Misra, Survayna Narayana.*

**Main editions**—An edition published in 4 volumes in Calcutta without commentary (1834-1839 A.D.) under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Edition of Bombay 1863 with commentary. Edition in Telegu character in 4 volumes in Madras 1855—1860 A.D. with extracts from *Nilakantha*. The edition by Pratap Chandra Roy (Calcutta, 1882 ff) : it was printed by the aid of collections *organised by* the editor for free distribution.

N. B. A very good edition of महाभारत is at present in course of preparation by the "Bhanderkar Oriental Research Institute", Poona. Another edition with a new commentary of his own has been undertaken by Mahamahopadhyaya Haridas Siddhanta, in Bengal.

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# (2) THE RAMAYANA

## I

## *THE SOURCE OF THE RAMAYANA*

(1) In Ayodhya ( अयोध्या ), there must have been current among the court bards ( सूतs ) a number of Epic tales and ballads narrating fortunes of Ikshaku heroes.

(2) The Ramayana itself tells us that it was recited by professional minstrels being handed down orally by Rama's two sons कुश and लव—which names are nothing more than the inventions of Etymology कुशीलव or "bard". The tribal hero must have been transformed into a national hero. Prof. Jacobi shows that it originally consisted of 5 books and that the 7th book is a later addition. Some cantos must also have been interpolated in the genuine books. The original kernel was composed before 500 B.C. (Prof. Lassen). रामायण contains fifty thousand verses and महाभारत one hundred thousand verses.

*N. B.* The Ramayana fulfils another mission. It is a great moral teacher for the youths of India, in whose eyes Rama is the prince ideal and Sita the nonpareil of wifely devotion.

## II

## *THE RAMAYANA EARLIER THAN THE MAHABHARATA AND ITS CASTING OF THE PLOT IS PRE-BUDDHISTIC*

(*a*) The heroes of the महाभारत are not mentioned in the Ramayana, while the story of राम is often referred to in the Mahabharata.

(*b*) The story of Rama is found in slightly modified form in Pali Birth-stories ( दशरथ जातक )

(*c*) There is no Greek influence in the story. The Javanas are mentioned only twice, but they are clearly interpolations.

(*d*) The Ramayana calls the capital of कोशल as अयोध्या, while the Buddhists, Jainas, Greeks and पतञ्जलि always give it the name of Saketa ( साकेत ) ।

(*e*) मिथिला and विशाला are spoken of as twin cities with two rulers ; but in time of Buddha they coalesced to the famous city of Baisali ( वैशाली ) ।

(*f*) Panini's influence does not appear to dominate over the language of the Ramayana and this shows its composition earlier than the grammarian. Panini must have ignored the popular dialect of the wandering bards.

(*g*) The Ramayana records no case of सती while in the Mahabharata Madri (माद्री) immolates herself with her husband and some of Krishna's wives do the same. (Megasthenes shows that it was a prevalent practice in 3rd Cent. B. C.)

(*h*) In the Ramayana the circle of territories occupied by the Aryans is more restricted than that in the Mahabharata.

(*i*) In the epic, no mention is made of the city of Pataliputra founded by Kalasoka before 380 B. C. and described by Megesthenes about 380 B. C.

## III

## *SOME REMARKS ON THE AGE OF THE RAMAYANA*

In genuine books, Rama is merely a human hero. He is made an incarnation of *Vishnu* in Books I and VII. This transformation must have taken a long time. In first and last books, *Valmiki* appears as a contemporary of *Rama*. Thus वाल्मिकि had already become a legendary personage in the minds of the poets of these later books. Thus, centuries elapsed between genuine and the spurious portions.

## IV

## *COMPARISON BETWEEN THE TWO EPICS*

(1) Allusions to Vasudeva, Arjuna and Judhisthira occur in Panini whereas the name of Rama is not mentioned, either in it or in the inscriptions of Pre-Christian era. (2) In the old genuine *Mahabharata*, the burning of widows is as much absent as in the genuine *Ramayana*, whereas in later portions of the Ramayana, less frequent than in the Mahabharata. (3) In the *Mahabharata*, we have a remnant of the ancient ballad form in the prose-formula such as युधिष्ठिर उवाच and so on ; while in the *Ramayana* the speakers throughout are introduced in verses. Hopkins observes—"Whatever may have been the date of its germ as a story, as an art-product it is later than महाभारत" । (4) In the nucleus of the *Mahabharata* we encounter much more archaic impression, rougher manners and a more warlike spirit than in

the *Ramayana*. In battle scenes, the poet of the *Mahabharata* belonged to a rough race of warriors and himself had seen bloody battle-fields, while in the *Ramayana* as though a story-teller is relating battles of which he has no first hand knowledge. (5) There is no such embittered hatred and fierce resentment between Rama and Ravana, Lakshmana and Indrajit as there is between Arjuna and Karna, and Durjodhana and Bhima in the *Mahabharata*. *Sita* when stolen or persecuted by Ravana maintains always calmness and meekness and in her speeches there is no trace of wild passion which we so often find in द्रौपदी। कुन्ती and गान्धारी are true hero-mothers of warlike race, while कौशल्या and कैकेयी are rather the stereotyped queens of classical dramas. महाभारत belongs to a more warlike age, while रामायण shows traces of more refined civilization. (6) The two epics represent poetry not of different periods, but of different regions of India—West and East. Hence it is difficult to conceive that महाभारत should only have become an Epic under the influence of वाल्मिकि's poetic art.

*N. B.* **Coincidence between the महाभारत and the रामायण—**

(1) Stealing of द्रौपदी is an imitation of the stealing of सीता। (2) Resemblance between राम and अर्ज्जुन :—The banishment into forest for 12 to 14 years, bending of the bow, and endowment with divine weapons—show the influence of the Ramayana on the *Mahabharata*. But it is more likely that महाभारत is the borrower. For रामायण shows no acquaintance with Pandava's legends. But महाभारत knows entire रामायण। In हरिवंश, there is dramatic representation of रामायण। वाल्मिकि is mentioned in महाभारत as an ascetic (ऋषि).

If महाभारत had already had its present form in 4th cent. A. D., रामायण must have received its "final" form at least one or two centuries earlier.

# V

## *PRE-BUDDHISTIC ORIGIN OF THE RAMAYANA*

Jacobi thought it possible to assume a pre-Buddhistic origin of the Epic on linguistic grounds. As early as the 5th cent. B. C., Buddha preached not in Sanskrit but in popular language. But popular epics must be composed in the *living language* of the people. In अशोक's time Sanskrit was no longer the language of the people and hence popular epics must belong to older pre-Buddhistic period when Sanskrit was a living language. But against this, it may be urged that Sanskrit always lived as a literary language, side by side with popular languages and has also been understood in circles in which it is not spoken. When Buddhist and Jaina monks composed and preached in popular dialects, Sanskrit Epics were also composed and listened to. During the 1st cent. B. C. Buddhist poet अश्वघोष composed his बुद्धचरित—an ornate Epic in Sanskrit for which वाल्मिकि's poetry served as a model. Towards the 2nd cent. A. D., रामायण must have had its final form to exclude further interpolation.

(a) Public recitation of रामायण is mentioned in कुमारलाट's कल्पनामण्डि टीका (translated from the Chinese, as

अश्वघोष's सूत्रालङ्कार by Huber (1908) which was written in 2nd cent. A. D. (b) We know from Chinese sources, that at the time of वसुबन्धु (4th cent. A. D.) रामायण was a popular poem among the Buddhists in India. (c) The Jaina monk विमल सूरि (1st cent. A. D.) recast the Rama-legend in his Prakrita poem पद्म-चरित (Padma-charita) to offer a substitute for Valmiki's poem to his co-religionists. (d) In 600 A. D. रामायण was famous in far-off Cambodia as a sacred book, for an inscription reports that certain सोमशर्मा presented the रामायण, the पुराण and the complete भारत to a temple.

*Have Homeric poems any influence on the* रामायण ?—

No similarity between the stealing of सीता and Helen, between the advance on Lanka and that on Troy, and only a very remote similarity of motive between bending of the bow by राम and that by Ulysses.

*The Ramayana is far removed from the Vedas.*

सीता's name signifies "field furrow". She came out of the mother earth and was received back by her. The idea of a Goddess of agriculture invoked in a blessing on the land in Rig-veda (IV, 57, 6) is ancient. गृह्यसूत्र preserves prayer-formula in which she is personified (कौशिक-सूत्र, 106). But there is nothing to indicate that the songs of राम and सीता existed in the Vedic times ; a wide gulf separates the Veda from the Epic.

It is probable, as Winternitz holds, that the original रामायण was composed in the 3rd cent. B. C.

on the basis of ancient ballads, in the circles of travelling singers like the brothers कुश and लव in उत्तरकाण्ड। These minstrels regarded the epic songs as their property with which they took every liberty. They would fabricate a number of additional verses. It was tempting for the singer not only to spin out scenes, if the audience enjoyed them, but also to add new similar ones. If the audience be the Brahmins, he would seek their favour by spinning out didactic portions, adding new moral maxims taken from elsewhere.

There are three different *recensions* * of the text. The omission of a passage in one recension is always a justifiable ground for *suspecting* its genuineness and it is easier to detect what is spurious and later in रामायण than in महाभारत। Every coming generation added something new and generations of singers have been at work at it ; but the old nucleus round which so much has grown is not difficult to recognise. Perhaps only a quarter of the transmitted 24,000 verses would prove to be genuine.

Unlike महाभारत, the Ramayana is a unified heroic poem. Poet Valmiki first shaped the *ballads* scattered in the mouths of bards into the form of a poem.

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* (1) North and South Indian *recension* which Jacobi designates as "c" is printed in Bombay. (2) The Bengal recension is contained in the complete edition by G. Gorresio. (3) North-Western Indian (Kashmiri) recension is now being printed at Lahore.

## VI

## *SOME FAMOUS EPISODES CONTAINED IN THE MAHABHARATA AND THE RAMAYANA*

The principal story constitutes not quite one half of the 18 books (पर्व) of the Mahabharata. The Eighteen *Parvas* contain together 2, 109 Adhayas or Cantos ; of these about 1,000 deal with the principal narrative. The other half has no bearing on the conflict of Kauravas and Pandavas. There are several *Episodes* which have found admission into the Mahabharata, a few of which we subjoin below :

(1) The Episode of Dusyanta and Sakuntala, so famous from the drama of Kalidas. (2) The Episode of Jajati and Devayani. (3) The famous poem of Nala and Damayanti. Dr. Winternitz, who thinks that the poem indicates high antiquity as the name of the hero occurs in the Satapatha Brahmana, and probably therefore belongs among the old parts of the Mahabharata, records his remarks that "this poem has been recognised as one of the gems of Universal literature." He thus remarks—"Few Indian poems suit European taste so extremely well as the Nala poem. It has been translated into practically *all the languages* of Europe, and a dramatic adaptation by Gubernatis was produced on the stage in Florence, and it has been the custom, at almost all western Universities, to begin the study of Sanskrit with the reading of this poem". (4) The Episode of the hero-mother Vidula. In order to give an idea of the racy vigour of the language of this heroic poetry,

we give below a few verses as translated by Dr. Winternitz :—

The mother thus addresses her son—"Up, coward! Lie not there so idle, when thou hast suffered defeat, to the joy of your foes, to the sorrow of thy friends." "A shallow brooklet is soon filled, the fist of a mouse is easy to fill. The coward is soon satisfied, he is contented even with a little". "Die not like a cur before thou hast at least robbed the serpent of its fangs. Be brave, though it cost thee thy life." "Why liest thou there like a dead man, like one who has been struck by lightning? Up, coward! Sleep not, when thou hast been defeated by the foe". "Better flare up for a moment than smother for hours! O that a mild ass should have been born in a royal house!" "Flare up, though it be but for a moment, but smother not like a fire of chaff, just to prolong life!" "That man whose deeds do not form the subject of talks of wonder, serves but to increase the great heap, he is neither woman nor man!"

(5) The Episode of king Sibi ( शिवि ) tells how the king cuts the flesh from his own body piece by piece and gives up his life in order to save the life of a dove.

(6) About the Episode of Sabitri and Satyavan, Dr. Winternitz thus remarks—"Savitri recalls more the women of heroic poetry, such as द्रौपदी, कुन्ती and विदुला than the Brahminical ideal of woman. But whoever it was who sang the song of Savitri whether a suta (सूत) or a Brahmin ( ब्राह्मण ), he was certainly one of the greatest poets of *all times*. Only a true poet could have described in such a touching and elevating manner the victory of love and constancy, of virtue and

wisdom, over destiny and death, without even for an instant falling into the tone of the dry preacher of morality. And only an *inspired artist* could have produced as if by a magic such wonderful pictures before us. * * * And we see all these pictures in the splendid setting of a primeval Indian forest whose deep stillness we seem to feel, and whose delicious fragrance we seem to breathe, when we surrender ourselves to the magic of this *incomparable poem.* * * The poem has frequently been translated into European languages including German. But all translations, adaptations and imitations can only give a feeble idea of the incomparable charm of the Indian poem". (7) The flood legend of Manu and the fish ; the profound and beautiful myth of the Goddess Death. (8) The Risya-Sringa (ऋष्यशृङ्ग) legend. (9) Great fame and almost universal propagation has been attained by the *parable* of the "Man in the well" which Vidura relates to धृतराष्ट्र। It flowed into the literature of the west principally with that stream of literature which flowed to the west through the popular books—"Barlaam and Joasaph" and "Kalilah and Dimnah" which originated in India but later became "*absolutely international*".

(10) In the रामायण also, like the महाभारत, the thread of the principal narrative is interrupted constantly by the interpolation of numerous myths and legends. We find the familiar legend of Yayati and Nahusa ; of Urvashi ; of king Ila who as the woman Ila bears Pururava ; the story of the ascetic Sambuka ( शम्बूक ). "The whole of the book VII bears the character of the latest parts of the महाभारत।"

# (3) THE PURANAS

## I

## *GENERAL REMARKS*

The Puranas, as the Epics, are not unified works and early and late portions are found side by side. It is probable that the Puranas with the Mahabharata are all derived from the same old source and this old source was oral tradition comprising the Brahmana-traditions reaching back to Vedic times, as well as the bard-stories handed down to the Kshatriyas and also contain texts of lesser bulks than the present Puranas. Originally the Puranas were not priestly literature at all. The सूतs or bards were the creators or bearers of the oldest poetry as the epic. This is proved by the fact that in all the Puranas the सूत लोमहर्षण or his son उग्रसवा, "the सौति" appears as narrator. But the suta was not a Brahmin by caste, he had nothing to do with the Veda (Vayu-Purana 1-33, अ : 4-13). When this bard-poetry ceased, this literature passed to the lower priest-hood which congregated in temples and places of pilgrimage and took possession of it.

The Hindus believe the Puranas as extremely ancient. They believe the same Vyasa ( व्यास ) who compiled the Vedas and composed the Mahabharata was also in the beginning of the *Kaliyuga* (कलियुग) the author of the 18 Puranas. The Puranas must not be confounded with the इतिहास which are properly the histories of heroic men, not of Gods. The Puranas are

properly the history of the Gods interwoven with legendary traditions in other subjects. The ancient lexico-grapher अमरसिंह whose date was placed by H. H. Wilson at the end of 1st Century B. C., gives पञ्चलक्षण—'characterised by five topics'. Some kinds of the Puranas must however have existed before his time, as we find the word mentioned in the आश्वलायन गृह्यसूत्रs and in मनु। But very few of the Puranas now extant, answer to the title given in the Matsya Purana, and the contents given in the पञ्चलक्षण do not always agree with the extant works either in subjects or in number of verses. This shows that like the Epics, Puranas are preceded by more ancient works.

The Puranas give the history of the whole universe from the most remote ages. They dogmatise on Physical Science, Geography, form of the earth, Astronomy, Anatomy, Medicine, grammar and the use of the military weapons. The recounting of royal geneologies is an important part of the Puranas. The main object of most of the Puranas is a sectarian one. They aim at exalting one of the three members of the त्रिमूर्ति—Brahma, Vishnu and Siva.

The point which would seem to bear out the theory that the earlier Puranas had come into existence as early as the 1st Century B. C. is the striking resemblance between the Buddhist महायान-texts of the 1st Century B. C. and the Puranas. ललित विस्तर calls itself a Purana. सद्धर्म पुण्डरीक, कारण्ड व्यूह and महावस्तु—remind us of sectarian Puranas in the praise of भक्ति।

(1) Poet Bana (बाण) (625 A. D.) relates how he attended a reading of Vayu-purana (वायुपुराण)। (2) Kumarila

(कुमारिल) (730 A. D.) relies on Purana as the sources of law. (3) Sankar ( शङ्कर ) (8th or 9th Cent.) and Ramanuj (रामानुज) (12th cent.) refer them as sacred books. (4) Alberuni (1030 A. D.) is familiar with Puranas and he fills a list of 18 Puranas and quotes Aditya, Vayu, Matsya, and Vishnupurana ( आदित्य, वायु, मत्स्य and विष्णु पुराण )। Puranas are not "quite modern", since Siva and Vishnu worship given in them have now proved to reach back to pre-Christian and perhaps pre-Buddhist periods. King Kadphises (78 A.D.) was an ardent Siva-worshipper and had a picture of Siva stamped on his coin (V. A. smith) cf. : British. Ep. Ind. II P. 94-95.

## II

The Puranas give the list of kings also of Kaliyuga ( कलियुग )। Among the Sisunagas ( शिशुनागs ) are Bimbasara and Ajatasatru—contemporaries of Buddha and Mahabir (6th & 5th cent. B. C.). With the मौर्य्य चन्द्रगुप्त (322 B. C.), V. A. smith has shown that Vishnu Purana is very reliable as regards the Mauryya dynasty (326-185 B. C.). Matsya Purana is also reliable as regards Andhra dynasty (225 A.D.). वायु पुराण describes the rule of Chandragupta I (325-330 A.D.). At the end, these Puranas enumerate dynasties of low and barbarian descent—शूद्रs, म्लेच्छs, such as आभीर, गर्द्दभ, शक, यवन, तुषार, हून, and so on and then follows description of Kaliyuga. This prophecy

perhaps reminds one of the harrowing accounts given by Chinese pilgrim Sung-yan of the barbarian invasion in the Punjab about 465 A.D. and of rule of Toraman (500 . A.D.) and Mihirkula (515 A.D.) who "surrounded day and night by thousands of murderers ; took no pity on women and children".

Puranas must have come into existence before the 7th century, for famous rulers like हर्ष, do not occur in the list of kings.

The पञ्चलक्षण of Puranas is this :—

(1) सर्ग—creation. (2) प्रतिसर्ग—recreation *i.e.*, periodical annihilation and renewal of the worlds. (3) वंश—geneology of Gods and Risis. (4) मन्वन्तर—Manu-periods of time. (5) वंशानुचरित—history of dynasties whose origin is traced back to the Sun and the Moon.

The number of existing पुराणs is unanimously given as eighteen.—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Brahma. | 7. Markandeya. | 13. Skanda. |
| 2. Padma. | 8. Agneya. | 14. Vamana. |
| 3. Vaisnava or Visnupurana. | 9. Bhavisya. | 15. Kaurma. |
| 4. Saiva | 10. Brahma-vaivarta. | 16. Matsya. |
| 5. Bhagavata. | 11. Lainga. | 17. Garuda. |
| 6. Naradiya. | 12. Varaha. | 18. Brahmanda |

Besides these, there are Upapuranas (उपपुराणs), whose number also is given as eighteen. The Visnupurana contains the well-known legends of the boy Prahlada in which the power of faith in Visnu finds its

most magnificent expression. The Agnipurana is a kind of remarkable encyclopædia. It actually deals with anything and everything. We find sections on Geography, Astronomy, marriage and death customs, on ovixa and portenta, house building, on Politics and art of war, on Law, Medicine, metres, poetry, and even on grammar and lexicogaphy." विष्णु-धर्मोत्तर an upapurana is also encyclopœdiac in character like the Agnipurana. It also contains sections on Sculpture, Architecture, dancing, music, ब्रह्मस्फुट सिद्धान्त।

भागवत पुराण—Numerous prints, commentaries and many translations into vernaculars bear witness to the enormous popularity and reputation of this work. Pargiter and Furquhar place it about 9th cent. A. D. It is of 12 books and consists of 18,000 slokas. Book X is most frequently read. It contains love-scenes of कृष्ण with the cowherdesses (राधा however does not appear).

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# CHAPTER III

## KAVYAS AND DRAMAS AND LYRICS

### I

### *EXPLOSION OF RENAISSANCE THEORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE.*

Are the first five centuries A.D. the dark age of Sanskrit literature ?—A theory has gained ground that the first five centuries of Christian era is a dark age for the Sanskrit literature. Many scholars hold the view that owing to foreign invasions by the Scythians and others, literary activity ceased in India and did not revive until at the time of Kalidas in the 5th cent. A.D, at the end of which he probably flourished. They view this age as a dreary void, destitute of literature or art worth serious consideration. The fierceness of foreign invasion was supposed to have stifled culture completely until the revival of learning in the 5th cent. A.D. But since we have come to see in the poetry of early incriptions, a beauty and simplicity rivalling that of Kalidas and in the classical period *following*, a splendour and picturesqueness—we must acknowledge that it is a misleading theory. These five centuries are worthy of a better name. It was an age containing rich and varied literature of its own. The invasions by Scythians of portions of India meant interpenetration of two peoples. They wanted land and booty ; the splendour of Indian civilisation itself awed

and won them ; they preserved the civilisation by adapting themselves to it. They ruled where Indians ruled calling themselves Indians (वौद्धs)—pretending themselves successors of Indian kings. The theory loses its force and validity, when we call to mind that only about one-fifth of India came under the actual sway of the Scythians and that the Scythian monarchs and conquerors acquired the custom of India and rapidly became Hinduised themselves. Some of these monarchs were great patrons of Sanskrit and Prakrit and of the Buddhism. Secondly, the Epigraphical discoveries recently made, completely disprove the theory. From the beginning of the Christian era down to the end of the 12th Cent. A.D., a living literary activity went on in various parts of India and Sanskrit poetry and prose were cultivated by many poets who raised the Sanskrit literature to a high sphere of perfection. Many poets have been discovered whose style bore the stamp of a highly flourished form, who employed ample compounds, alliterations, beautiful figures of simile and metaphor and they closely adhered to the elaborate rules of the Poetics. Words were so skilfully arranged as to admit *double entendre* and other adaptabilities of Sanskrit language. These unmistakably prove that Sanskrit continued to be cultivated and that there was a healthy literary activity in India during the age which did not cease.

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## II

## *CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STYLE OF THE LATER EPIC AND LYRIC POETRY.*

The essential factor of *ornate poetry* (काव्य) is—greater importance is attached to the form than to matter and contents, and the embellishments (अलङ्कार) such as similes, poetic figures, puns etc. are largely used. Descriptions of nature are spun out interminably with ever new metaphors and comparisons. The course of the narrative is interrupted by the insertion of numerous Brahmanical myths and legends and some are the same as in the Mahabharata.

India possesses a number of *Lyric* poems that are worthy to rank, as master-pieces in the world's best literature. From the earliest times the Hindu has turned to lyric strains ; the *Vina* or lute was in high favour. Some of them, observes Macdonell, are polished to an exquisite finish of refined workmanship. "Some pearls of Lyric poetry which appeal to us through their flowery language are to be found so early as in the *Rig-veda* among the songs to *Suryya*, *Parjanya* and above all to *Usa* (ऊषा) which are worthy of being valued as works of art". (*Winternitz*)

(1) The Epic and the Lyric Poetry abound in truly poetical ideas and display of great fertility of imagination, power of description and wealth of illustration. Striking imagery and noble thoughts and sentiments are not infrequent.

(2) Too studied and artificial elaboration of

diction, love for alliteration and playing upon words. Great artistic skill is exhibited by bringing out capabilities of Sanskrit language—its adaptation to every kind of style—its complex system of metres, rhythm, alliteration—its intricate compounds.

(3) Stanzas are sometimes composed so as to form an imaginary shape or figure, such as that of a lotus etc. (चित्रकाव्य), such as a drum, a sword etc.

(4) The sense is sometimes sacrificed to the display of ingenuity in the bending of words to suit the metre, the ideas to be conveyed by the language, employed sometimes being made quite a secondary matter. Whole verses are sometimes composed with the repetition of a single consonant.

(5) Employment of a variety of Rhetorical figures (अलङ्कार)—to illustrate various sentiments and emotions—unknown to other languages and marking off minute gradations of simile and metaphor.

(6) Most of the similes are taken from the habits and motions of animals or from peculiarities in the aspect of natural objects. As to the description of scenery, the poets are very graphic and picturesque. Profusion of flowers and trees is alluded to in the Epic and lyric poems, such as चूत, अशोक, किंशुक with its gorgeously red blossoms, the Jasmine with its varieties of मालती, जाति, युथिका etc.

(7) A deep religious meaning appears to underlie most of the narratives. They conceal a sublime moral truth symbolising conflict between good and evil and hopelessness of victory in such a contest without purity of soul and self-abnegation.

## III

## *CHRONOLOGICAL NOTICES OF SANSKRIT AUTHORS AND THEIR WORKS.*

(1) Epic and Lyric poetry, (2) Prose, (3) Drama and (4) Ethical poetry.

### 1st CENTURY A.D.

1. Bharata's *Natyasastra* ( भारत-नाट्यशास्त्र ) is placed in this century by some scholars. Indians hold it to be of divine origin.

2. Patanjali's महाभाष्य (144 B. C.—Bhandarkar ; 120 B. C.—Goldstucker )—Katyayana was his contemporary ( Goldstucker )—shows that kavya flourished in his day and must have been developed before his time ( भाष्य quotes several good verses).*

( Patanjali shows an intimate acquaitance with the south—माहिष्मति, वैदर्भ, काञ्चीपुर, केरल and मालाबार. He also knows गोतम's न्यायदर्शन । )

3. *Kama-Sutra* of Vatsyayana.

4. Aswaghosa ( अश्वघोष ), a contemporary of king Kanishka and thus belongs to 1st Century A.D.—composed his *Buddhacharita*. [In this book occurs a stanza

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* Patanjali mentions *Kanshabadha*, *Balibandha* and other dramas. He speaks of the tales of *Javakrita*, *Pryangu*, *Jayati*, *Vasavadatta*, *Sumonottara*, and *Bhimaratha*. He also mentions a Kavya named *Bararuchi kavya*. Proverbs are also known to him, such as *Aja-kripaniya*, *Kaka-taliya*, *Sarpa-Nakuliya* and other stories.

in which it is said that before Valmiki's composition of Ramayana there existed the Ramayana composed by Chyavana ( च्यवन ). Is this Chyavana referred to by Kalidas by पूर्वै सूरिभिः ? ] Aswaghosa's Buddhacharita was translated into Chinese in 414 A. D. In its original form it was of 28 cantos ; but we have only 13 cantos, with a supplement of 4 more by a writer of 19th century. Saundarananda is his another epic kavya, which mainly describes conversion of Buddha's half-brother—नन्द with his love-story for his wife—सुन्दरा। His सूत्रालङ्कार is another Kavya in prose and verse, giving the substance of जातक and अवदान which we find in Pali canon. Sariputra Prakarana is a drama by Aswaghosa. It deals with the conversion by Buddha of मौद्गल्यायन and शारिपुत्र. It is a प्रकरण of 10 Acts.

## 2nd and 3rd CENTURIES A. D.

A fairly developed Kavya Style was known in India as early as the 2nd century A. D. Not forgetting that the epic of the Ramayana contains many approximateness to Kavya style.

Literary prose inscriptions—one from *Girnir* and other from Nasik * show that there existed a rich prose Kavya style abounding in compounds, ornaments of alliteration and kind of simile and metaphor. The *Girnir* Prasasti of Rudradamana was composed on the restoration of Sudarsana lake (150 A. D.)."

* Nasik inscription of the 19th year of Siri Pulumayi of Pratisthana is in Prakrit of which the original was perhaps composed in Sanskrit.

*Girnir inscription* of Rudradaman was written in Vaidarvi ( वैदर्भी ) style.

Bhasa—the great Dramatist. His name is mentioned in Kalidasa's *Malavikagnimitra*, and elicits praise from Vakpati, Rajasekhara, Bana and Abhinava Gupta. Keith puts him at 300 A. D. His works were considerable :—Swapna-vasavadatta, Pratijna Jaugandharayana, Balacharita, Karnabhara, Pratimanataka, Charudutta, Avimarka, Duta Ghatotkacha, Dutavakya, etc.

Winternitz says of Bhasa thus—"Kalidas and Bhavabhuti were greater poets, greater masters of language than Bhasa, but in the whole Sanskrit literature no drama could compare as a *stage-play* with any one of the plays ascribed to Bhasa ; for all classical dramas are book-dramas, while the plays of Bhasa are one and all the works of a born dramatist wonderfully adapted to the stage."

*Saptasati*—a collection of 700 stanzas in Maharastri Prakrit dialect is attributed to Hala and he is mentioned in Vatsayana's *Kamasutra* (कामसूत्र), Bana ( बाण ) in his *Harshacharita* speaks of this *Saptasati*, and in *Saraswati Kanthavarana* and in *Kavya Prakash* verses from it are quoted.

The Andhra (अन्ध्र) dynasty is known as Salivahana ( शालिवाहन ) kings. Their fall happened in the 3rd Century A.D. Hala was the seventh king of this dynasty. Hemachandra in his *Deshikosa* gives Salivahana, Hala and Kuntala as the names of the same man. (Compare "शालो हालन्पे मत्स्यप्रभेदे सर्ज्जपादपे" —महेश्वर's विश्वप्रकाशकोष । )

*Brihatkatha*—written in Paishachi Prakrit is attributed to Gunadhyaya, a minister to this king Hala and Katantra grammar to his another minister or his spiritual preceptor, Sarvavarmacharyya.

(Keith ascribes 3rd century to Hala and Saptasaṭi.)

## 4th and 5th CENTURIES A. D.

[The Buddhist *Jatakamala* of *Arjyya-sura* falls in the 4th Century A. D.]

Fleet's third volume of Corpus Inscriptionum contains eighteen inscriptions written mostly in verse and partly in elevated prose and cover two centuries 350 to 550 A. D.

Samudra Gupta (4th Cent.) was himself a poet and supporter of poets. His reign comprised nearly the whole of Northern India and almost all the kingdoms of the south were compelled to acknowledge his supremacy. His capital was Kushumapur or Pataliputra.

Harisena (375—390)—his court poet composed 9 stanzas in 30 lines of verse in praise of his patron and an equal number of prose full of long compounds, —his verses written in वैदर्भी style (engraved in a pillar at Allahabad), rivalling that of Kalidas and Dandin.

Virasena—minister of Chandra Gupta II.—a poet of considerable merit (400 A. D.).

Vatsa-bhatti—commemoration of a sun's temple at Mandasore. His poem (44 stanzas) has several affinities with Kalidasa's writings. (473 A. D)—containing desciption of cities, natural phenomena etc. in Gaudi style (long compounds).

## 5th CENTURY. A. D.

Aihole inscription of Pulukeshi II. (634 A. D.) has an allusion to Kalidas, with Bharavi author of *Kiratarjuniya*. *Harshacharita*, Kumarila's *Tantra vartic* also quotes "सतां हि सन्देहपदेषु वस्तुषु।" गौड़परिवाह mentions *Raghukara* Kalidas. Kalidas flourished in the 5th cent. according to Macdonell (See below). Keith places him in Gupta period, during the rule of Chandragupta.

His works are :—

रघुवंश and कुमारसम्भव—(Kavyas)

मालविकाग्निमित्र, विक्रमोर्वशी and शकुन्तला—(Dramas)

ऋतुसंहार, मेघदूत and शृङ्गारतिलक—(Lyric)

*Pancha-tantra*—king Amara-Sakti of south ordered the compilation of पञ्चतन्त्र to teach his boys.

घटकर्पर—His work bears the same name—a lyric

## 6th CENTURY A. D.

Vachaspati—(10th Cen. A.D.) says that Udyotakara composed his *Nyaya-vartika* a commentary on Pakshilaswami, a भाष्यकार of Gotama's Nyaya Sutra, to clear the interpretations of Dinnaga (520—600 according to Kern and Muller) and Udyotakara is attacked by Dharmakirti (says Jaina Sloka Vartika), Dharmakirti is mentioned by Itsing who travelled in 671—695 A.D. Taranath makes Dharmakirti a contemporary of a Tibetan king who died in 650 A. D. Now this Dharmakirti (author of वादविधि) and Dinnaga (author of प्रमाणसमुच्चय) are both criticised by Kumarila (700—750 A. D., Journal B. B. R. A. S. XVIII.). Dharmakirti is the author of न्यायबिन्दु—the inventor of Navya-Nyaya (7th Cen.) (cf. Gangesha-Upadhyaya—14th

Cent.) Dr. Hall holds that Nyaya-Vartika is the work of Udyotakara. A Tibetan work Ratna-Dharma-raja makes Dinnaga and Dharmakriti (contemporary of Udyotakara) pupils of Asanga who was the elder brother of वसुबन्धु* (pandit of Nalanda) as says the Jaina-Sloka-Vartika, Hence Udyotakara cannot have lived prior to the latter part of the 6th Century.

Hiuen Tsang tells us that Vasu Vandhu and his teacher Manamatha were contemporaries of Siladitya Pratapasila (Bhoja—according to Ferista and of malapo —530 to 580—according to Smith), who was preceded by Vikramaditya called—Sriharsa also, by Wassilief's, Bhudhismus mentioned by Taranatha. Is this Harsa, Vikramaditya of Ujjain mentioned by Rajatarangini ?† Sriharsa (Harsa-Vardhan Siladitya) massacred the Sakas at Multan in 544 A.D. His father was Gombhirapaksha—his son was Sila (Ind. Ant. 1875). Nagananda, Ratnavali, Priya-darshika attributed to this Harsha. (Smith).

Pravakarvardhana of Thaneswar (mother was

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*The monastery of Nalanda (near Gaya) formed a seat of learning. Ten thousand monks here studied supported from royal funds. In Nalanda there were also schools of painting, sculpture and handicrafts. It had been in existence for 7 centuries when Hiouen Tsang visited it. Six successive kings devoted their effects to building and decorating it.

Other universities were Taxila, Benares, Sridhanya katakaa and on the banks of the Krishna (also the Jagaddal university at Dinajpur and Nadia also).

† According to Ferguson and MaxMuller he was the founder of the usual *Sambat* era (56 B. C.) This is wrong.

princess of Gupta lineage) (640 A. D.) sent Rajyavardhan to attack the Huns in North west frontier whom he defeated and became king after his father's death. Then he again marched against a king of Malava who killed his sister's husband Graha-varma. Pravakara was known also as Pratapa Sila and was succeeded by his son Rajyavardhana, who was also succeeded by Siladitya Harsa-vardhana of Thaneswar and Kanouj (606-650). Rajyasri was sister to Harsavardhana. Avantivarma's son Grahavarma of Maukhari kings was husband to her and he was murdered by the king of Malava against whom Rajyạ-vardhana the elder brother of Harsavardhan marched and whom he killed, but he was himself killed by a king of Gouda Sasanka. Harsha overran the whole of northern India. The younger son of the Balavi kings of Guzrat attended in his train. Hiouen Tsang visited Balavi (Guzrat) when Dhruvasena or Dhruvabhat, a son-in-law to the son of Harsavardhana was on the throne in 640 A. D.

Bhaskara Varma was the king of Kamarupa at the time of Harshavardhan and Kamrupa was visited by Hiouen Tsang.

Asanga and Vasubandhu thus appear to have lived in the 6th Cent. A. D. (541 A. D.) and his pupil Dinnaga lived about the same time.

*Baraha Mihira*—In a commentary, on the Khanda-khadya of Brahmagupta, an astronomer of 638 A. D., by Amaraja, Varaha Mihira is described as having died in 587 A. D.; H. T. Colebrooke

assigned to him also the close of the 5th Century. A well known memorial verse makes Amara Sinha the Lexicographer, a contemporary of Varaha Mihir. Amarasinha was translated into Chinese 361-366 A.D. It is inscribed in the Buddha Temple of Gaya that Amara lived in the 5th Cent. A.D., but some say that the text of the inscription has been incorrectly read. Fleet reads 269 of *Saka* era.

*Setu kavya*—In 15 Sargas in Maharastri which elicits praise from Dandi and Bana, describes the story of Rama from the starting of his monkey-army to the slaying of Ravana. Rajatarangini states that Prabarasena II of Kashmere (544-6th Cen, A. D.) who defeated Pratapa-sila Siladitya, son of Vikramaditya constructed a bridge of boats across the Vitasta. This is the subject of Setu-kavya.* Dandin praises the poem. Bana in his Harsacharita notices Setu-kavya and Prabarasena. It is alluded to in Sahitya-Darpana. Kshemendra in his Auchityalankara quotes two verses from it and ascribes it to Prabarasena. (This Kshemendra also quotes from Raghu-Vansha and Vikramorvashi and ascribes them to Kalidasa).

Sudraka's Mricchakatika—Pre-eminent for dramatic qualities of vigour, life and action and sharpness of

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* It is stated in Rajtarangini that when Hiranya of Kashmere died without issue, one Harsha Vikramadiya of Ujjain appointed a poet Matrigupta to the throne of Kashmere (504 A. D.) who ruling for 4 years became a यति and Prabara Sena, nephew of Hiranya assumed the throne. Some hold that this Matrigupta was Kalidas and Setubandha is ascribed to him (but exessive use of compounds is not in accord with Kalidas' style).

characterisaion. Skanda Purana—Kumarika khanda—places this in 3290 years of Kali-yuga —111 Saka. M. Williams places this in the 1st or 2nd cen. A.D.

Vaman (III, 2. 4.) knows Sudraka as an author and Dandi's quotation of a Sloka is not from Sudraka but from Bhasa. Hence Pisehel's theory that Dandi is the author of Mrichhakatika falls to the ground.

Prof. Wilson considers it a work of considerable antiquity (1st Century B.C.). According to Prof. Konow, he is the *Avira* prince, overthrew the last descendant of *Andhra* dynasty and founded the *Chedi* era of 248-9 A. D. This is supported by the fact that the king of Ujjain was पालक in the play and was overthrewn by Aryyaka, son of a herdsman and *Aviras* are herdsmen. But Dr. Keith considers Praddyota of Ujjain had two sons Gopala and Palaka, and Brihatkatha says that Gopala surrendered the kingdom to Palaka and the latter having made room for Aryyaka his brother's son. This is probably taken from Bhasa's *Pratigna Jaugandharayana*. These events belong to 485 B. C. Some clever hand might have recast Charudatta given in Bhasa. The first four acts are almost a reproduction of Bhasa's Charudatta. The names also are slightly changed and the play is a combination of poetical, romantic and love-intrigue.

Basantasena, being wife of a Brahmin, indicates a period when law prohibiting such marriage was not contemplated for. The author, whoever he was, is admirable in characterisation and he is master of pathos also, and has perfect command of the power of hitting and forcible expressions. *Sakuntala* and

*Utturaramacharita* could have been produced nowhere save in India ; but *Sansthanaka, Maitreya, Madanika* are citizens of the world". The variety of the incidents are foreshadowed in Bhasa, as well as the simplicity of style. Humours are undoubted.

Dandin—belonged to that period when the Sanskrit style was in its transitional state from the simple to the complex and elaborate one. His works have more affinity to *Pancha-Tantra* or *Katha-Sarit Sagara* than to *Vasavadatta* or *Kadambari*. His style* though artificial is free from unnecessary pun, unweildly compounds. The style of Subandhu and Bana is more artificial and of elaborate description. His works present a number of names of cities and principalities of which few vestiges remain. They are to be found in the Travels of the Chinese in the 4th and 6th centuries. No reference is made to the Mahommedan invasion. Subandhu lived a century later than Dandin (Collins of Lipzic places Dandin before 585 A. D.) *Kavyadarsa* mentions *Setubandha* and Dasakumaracharita. (Adventures of ten princes.)

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* Keith's estimate of the style of Dandi—"Dandi has the merit of descriptive power ; advent of spring, the sunset, the sleeping posture of Ambalica, the meeting of Rajavahana and Abantisundari have been justly singled out as admirable. His prose is simple, clear, elegant. His metaphors and similes are effective and pretty. He is generally free from obscure allusions, complex puns, involved constructions. He is a master of style. उच्छ्वास VII contains no labial sounds at all. An ancient criticism assigns to Dandi padalalitya—beauty of words and elegance of diction and the praise is not undeserved."

## 7th CENTURY. A. D.

Subandhu—the author of Vasavadatta.

(1) Narasinhavaidya—one of the glossators of Vasavadatta—says that Subandhu was a retainer of Vikramaditya (after whose death he wrote his work.)

(2) Hall's manuscript D (S. Indian recension) terms Subandhu, son of Baruruchi's sister (Baruruchi in Vikramaditya's court—5th cen. A. D.—Block.)

(3) Bhojaprabandha agrees with this because it associates Subandhu and Baruruchi in a passage.

(4) Subandhu mentions Dharmakirti. Taranath (Transl. Schiefuer, St. Petersberg) makes Dharmakirti, a contemporary of Tibetan king S. Gampo (who died about 650 A. D.). Dharmakirti is described by Itsing who travelled in 671-695 as among those of late years. Subandhu mentions Uddyotakara. He wrote his Nyayavartika to refute Dinnaga's view (who flourished between 520-600 A. D.—Kern ; Max Muller—6 systems of Hindu Philosophy p. 477.)

Might not one suppose that Subandhu was a courtier either of Sasanka of Gauda or of Devagupta of Eastern Malava—both of whom were ignoble (cf ; Siladitya of western Malava). Subandhu lived at least a century later than Dandi (Collins places Dandi before 585 A. D.).

Vasavadutta—Keith's estimats of Subandhu's style— "He is a perfect model of Gouda style—long compounds, the heaping upon epithets, forcible and resonant sounds rather than smoothness, alliteration and hyperbole. He displays a baffling acquaintance

with all the lore of his day which enables him to confound even his commentators. The punning is incessant ; it varies from the simplest to the more subtle, and do actual harm to the context. The alliterations become foolish jingles."

The story is slightly alluded to in Katha-Sarit-Sagara, Meghaduta, Malatimadhaba and Ratnavali. Subandhu, its author, laid under contribution Bhavabhuti's Malati Madhava—Fifth Act, beginning—Fitz Hall.

He uses the phraseology of and refers to the picture of खञ्जन "केचित् खञ्जना इव सांवत्सरिक फलदर्शना:" as found in Varahamihira. He quotes अज-इन्दुमती and the curse of दुर्व्वाशा from Kalidas probably.

In the beginning of the 7th Cent. A. D. Harshavardhana Siladitya was the great king of Kanouj and Thaneswar. He became the paramount sovereign of the north. He then endeavoured to extend his power to the south of Narmada but was opposed by Pulukeshi II—the Chaulakya king of the Dekan who took his elephants and defeated him. Hiouen Tsung visited his kingdom. Prof. Wilson supposes this Harsha as Harshadeva of Kashmere, patron of literature. (Somadeva, author of *Brihatkatha* composed his tales for the amusement of Harsha's grandmother and Ratnavali's *Vatsa*-incident occurs in Brihatkatha). Harshadeva's geneology is given in *Ain ni Akbari*. Kalhana also gives this geneology. Under these authorities Harsha ascended the throne in 1113 A. D. (But Swaraswati Kanthavarana which

quotes from Ratnavali is much older than this Harshadeva of Kashmere).

Manatungacharjya speaks of a Vriddhabhoja at whose court he lived. Is Vridhabhoja then Harshavardhan of this 7th Cent. A. D.* ? Kshiraswami (802—803) also adduces two works under the name of Bhoja.

Mayurabhatta (Father-in-law of Bana)—composed his Suryya-sataka a lyric at the instance of Vridhabhoja—says the commentary of *Bhaktamarastotra*. Kavya Prakash notices this poet.

Manatunga Acharjya—Dr. Fitz Edward Hall says that he has seen near Bhupal an inscription dated 1017 A. D. that praises Manatungacharjya, author of Bhaktamara Stotra.

Bana in his Harshacharita quotes Subandhu and praises Kalidasa and Bhasa also (Bhasa is mentioned by Kalidasa in *Malavikagni mitra*) and some attributes Ratnavali of Sriharsha to Bana. (A stanza "द्वीपादन्यस्माद" etc. occurs fully in हर्षचरित and this stanza is quoted in

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* Tradition and Kshiraswami name Briddhabhoja. The commentator of Bhaktamarastotra makes Bana and Mayura court poets of Briddhabhoja. Dramatist Rajasekhar makes Bana and Mayura court poets of Sriharsha. Was Briddhabhoja the name of Sri Harsha ? Was this, Harshavardhana of Kanouj ? Kshiraswami mentions a Bhoja as author of a grammar and vocabulary. An epigraph to Vasavadutta reads वररुचि-भागिनेय Subandhu. Rajashekhar makes वाण-मयुर-मातङ्ग-दिवाकर court poets of one Sriharsha (perhaps Bridha-bhoja). (A भोज of कणौज—862—882—Syodoni inscription—Keilhorn.)

सरस्वती कण्ठाभरण as being quoted from Ratnavali. Hence Bana was the author of it), but Kavyaprakasha attributes it to Dhavaka (but one टीकाकार of Kavyaprakasha. Sitikantha reads Bana instead of Dhavaka). *Kadambari** was left incomplete which was completed by his son Bhusanabana. Harsacharita also was left incomplete.

N. B. Distinction between *Akhyayika* and *Katha*—"Akhyayika possesses divisions called Ucchvasha and contains verses in Baktra and Aparabaktra here and there and is narrated by the hero ; while Katha lacks these marks also. Akhyayika rests on traditions, the Katha on fancy. It is based on the *original* distinction between the serious story in Sanskrit and the folk-tales in Prakrit. Harsacharita is Akyhaiyka, the Vrihatkatha is a Katha—Kadamvari encloses narrative within narratives and it is a real feature of a Katha"—*Keith.*

*Parvati Parinaya Nataka*—a pharaphrase of *Kumara Sambhava* is also ascribed to him (Bana). *Nagananda* is attributed to Shriharsha. (But E. B. Cowel attributes it to Dhavaka). But Damodara, a minister to Jayaditya (author of काशिका) makes Harsa as the author of the *Ratnavali*, and It-sing holds Harsa also as the author of the *Nagananda*.

But Parvati Parinaya is now alloted to Vamana Bhattabana (1400 A.D.) and *Mallikamaruta* wrongly thought to be Dandi's, is the work of Uddandin of the 7th Cen. A. D.

Bhartrihari—3 stanzas from Rajasekhara occur in Bhartrihari's *Sataka*. Some later redactor must have

* In the 9th Cent. A. D., in Avinanda of Kashmir we have an epitome of Kadambari—the Kadambari Kathasara.

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added them to this Sataka. Bhartrihari died 650 (Itsing) and Jayaditya (काशिका) died 660 (Itsing).

Bhartrihatri's *3 centuries* are immortal works. Bhartrihari was probably brother of Jasodharma Vikramaditya of Malav who defeated the Hun *Mihira Kula* 593 A.D. Or he may be a contemporary of Kalidas—the style of both equal. (cf. "प्रेमानाहुः किमपि ध्वंशिनःविरहे"—is an answer to a stanza of Vairagya-sataka—'विनाशि प्रेम विरहात्' etc.) Some lines of शतक are quoted in Panchatantra, a work of 5th cent. A.D. (His three शतकs—lyric poems).

Bhatti Kavyam—राजशेखर names one भर्तृमेन्य—former incarnation of भवभूति। कल्हन् speaks of भर्त्तृमेन्य। Is he Bhatti of भट्टिकाव्य ? भर्त्तृमेन्य was contemporary of Matrigupta—ruler of Kashmere (544 A.D.).

But the author himself speaks of Dharasena* of Valavi (Guzrat), where, he says, he composed his poem. This Bhatti and Bhartrihari of *Vakyapadiya* may be the same man.

Bharavi the auther of *Kiratarjuniya*—is mentioned in an inscription 634 A. D. (This was inscribed in the reign of Chalukya king Pulakeshi II (608 A. D.) along with Kalidas.—"स

* Hiuen Tsang visited Valavi in 640 A.D., and speaks of Dhruvabhata. This king was nephews of (भट्-सेन-सिद्ध same) Dharmaditya siladitya of Molapo. धरसेन IV was ध्रुवसेन's successor former 629 A.D. and the latter 645 A.D. (Gupta era and Valavi era same according to Alburini. Add 241 to Gupta or वलभी era and you get the शक era. Add 78 to a शक era and you get A.D.).

विजयतां रविकीर्त्तिः कवितान्यित कालिदास-भारविकीर्त्तिः।" But Prof. Max Muller in his "India" says that one Avanti wrote a टीका on the 14th canto of Bharavi and is said to have lived 470 A.D. Hence Bharavi must have been composed in the beginning of the 5th century to have attained sufficient celebrity to require a commentary. He must have lived in the court of a king and joined in discussion of politics.

## 8th CENTURY A. D.

Kshiraswami—commentator of अमरकोष—lived during the reign of Jayapida of Kashmere (772-803 A.D.). Kshiraswami quotes Viddhasalabhanjika. Is then राजशेखर much older than what we suppose ? He quotes Bhoja as author of a grammar and a कोष।

Visakhadutta's—Mudra Rakshasa. One passage from it quoted in सरस्वती कण्ठाभरण (attributed to भोज of 11th Cent.) and two in दशरूप by a poet who flourished in time of Munja, uncle of Bhoja. Hence Mudrarakshasa at least a century prior to 11th cent. A.D. In the last stanza some read Avanti Varma* in place of Chandragupta. We know of one Avantivarma, the father of Maukhari king Grahavarma, the husband of the sister of Harsavardhana of Kanouj. He must be a king of west of मगध or Behar somewhere about 7th Cent. A. D. The Maukhari kings joined their neighbours the later Guptas in their wars with the white Huns. The city of Pataliputra overlooked the Ganges at the time of Visakhadutta. Fa Hian described

* One Avantivarma was king of Kashmere (855—83 A.D.)-

this city (399-414 A.D.) ; but Hiuen Tsang says (7th cent.) that it is a ruined city. Another chinese account in 756 A.D. says that the city disappeared, as the Ganges gave way. Hence Mudra Rakshasa must have been composed about the beginning of the 8th cent. A. D. The mention of lunar eclipse in the prelude to Mudrarakshasha can not but refer to the eclipse of 2nd December, 860 A.D.*

Murari—he cites from उत्तररामचरित, and रत्नाकर in his हरविजय refers to him. He is the author of the famous drama अनर्घराघव।

His composition is elevated, heroic and marvellous throughout, not merely at the close. His characters add elevation and charm to the poet's work. But there is no attempt to improve the narrative ; characters are stereotyped. He delights to overload the theme. Hyperbole marks every idea. He has no taste for dialogue. His love of recondite of grammar has won him the fame. (*Kieth*).

Kaviraja's—(800 A.D.) राघव पाण्डवीय। Keith assigns 1190 A,D. or the 9th cent. It tells the story of Rama and Mahabharata simultaneously.

Bhavabhuti's—महावीर चरित, उत्तर चरित, and मालतीमाधव।

Vakpatiraja's—गौड़ परीवाह (750 A.D.) or गौड़ वध।

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*Visakhadatta's diction is admirably forcible and direct. The martial character of his drama reflects itself in the clearness and rapidity of his style. An artist in essentials he uses images, metaphors and similes with tasteful moderation. The characters Rahshasha and Chanakya are excellent foils ; each is admirable. The minor characters are all interesting.

Lalitaditya* of Kashmere (723-760 A.D.) subdued Josovarman who reigned at Kanouj (693-729 A.D.)

Vakpatiraja (who refers to Raghukara or Kalidasa) first came into prominence in the latter part of his reign, while Bhavabhuti belonged to the first part. Josavarman died about 753 A. D. *Rajatarangini* speaks of both the poets as having been patronised by Josavarman. Vakpati says thus of Bhavabhuti— 'भवभूइ जलहि निग्गअ काव्यादि रसकणा ।' This Vakpati mentions Subandhu, Bharavi and Harichandra (author of जीवन्धर चम्पू after 897 A. D.).†

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* During Harsha's life time, Durlavavardhana founded a dynasty at Kashmere. Lalitaditya was his grandson. There was a poet Gaudavinanda, author of कादम्बरीकथासार and योगवाशिष्ठसार—whose great grandfather lived under king Lalitaditya. This poet mentions Rajasekhara as a contemporary.

† Bhavabhuti's style—Sita and Rama (in Uttaracharita) are splendidly characterised. The one in his greatness of power and nobility of spirit, the other ethereal and spiritual removed from the gross things of earth. The temper of Bhavabhuti is akin to the grand and the inspiring in nature and life. The forests, the mountains, the rivers afford abundant opportunity for his great ability in depicting the rugged as well as the tender elements of nature. What is awe-inspiring and magnificent in its grandeur has an attraction for Bhavabhuti. The reunion of Rama and Sita has a depth of sentiment not evoked by the tamer picture of Dushmanta and Sakuntala. Rama and Sita are creatures of more vital life and deeper experience than the King and his woodland love—Sakuntala. We find in Bhavabhuti the sense of the mystery in things. "What brings things together", he says, "is some mysterious inward tie". Self-sacrifice is a reality to Bhavabhuti. Friendship is to him sacred ; to guard a friend's interest at the cost of one's own, to strive for his weal as

*Amaru-sataka*—attributed to Sankaracharjya when he animated the dead body of king Amaru that he might argue on amatory subjects with the wife of Mandanamisra.

Amaru in his Amarusataka has highest distinction as the poet who can depict the various phases of love. Keith says 'it is impossible to suppose that he was a contemporary of कालिदास। He dates before आनन्दवर्द्धन and hence he cannot be later than A. D. 800."

## 9th CENTURY A. D.

The Haravijaya—of Kashmerian poet Rajanaka Ratnakar Vaniswar under king चिप्पट जयापीड़ about 850 A. D. 50 cantos in 4000 long stanzas deal with slaying of Andhaka by Siva. He makes a reference to the poet Murari.

Anandavardhana—Bisamabanalila (Prakrita poem) under king Avantivarma of Kashmere (853 to 84—Rajatarangini.)

Dhvanyaloka ( अलङ्कार ) of the same author.

Jinasena's—Parswabhuydhaya 813 A. D.—court of Rashtrakuta king Amoghavarsha. Meghaduta has been incorporated in it by way of समस्यापूरण।

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for one's own is the essential mark of true friendship'. Admirable is also his conception of love, far nobler than that normal in Indian literature. It is the same in happiness and sorrow, in which the heart finds solace &c. (I. 39). He proclaims as his own merit richness and elevation of expression, depth of meaning and he has no small grounds for his claims.—Keith.

*Venisamhara*—the author Bhattanarayana was the grantee of a copperplate dated the 840 A. D. He is cited by Vamana and Anandavardhana and hence his age must be before 850. He was summoned by Adisura supposed to have reigned before the Pala dynasty in the middle of the 8th Cent. A.D. Some scholars made him Adityasena, son of Madhavagupta of Magadha who was alive in 671 A. D.

"The play is undramatic, for the action is choked by narrative, and the vast abundance of detail served up confuses and destroys interest. Yet the characterisation is good. Horror and pathos are not lacking, but the love interest is certainly not effective. His slavish fidelity to rule brought him censure even from Indian critics. The style of the play is clear and not lacking either in force or dignity. He has the merit, shared by Vishakha Dutta, of fire and energy; much of the fierce dialogue is brutal and violent, but it lives with a reality and warmth." *(Keith.)*

Medhatithi—commentator of *Manusamhita.* He has mentioned Kumarila and also quoted from Sankara's Sariraka Bhasya. He has also named Vachaspati Misra.

*Rajshekhara*—was connected with the court of a Chedi king Keyuravarsha who reigned by the middle of the 10th cent. A. D. and was a contemporary of king Vakpati of Malava. His works are :—Biddhasalabhanjika (Dhanika lays under contribution this and Karpuramanjuri to illustrate Dasarupaka and quotes from Ratnavali also). It is in imitation of Ratnavali ;

—plays of Sri Harsha directly alluded to. His other works are :—

*Prachandapandava* in two Acts only, describes Draupadi's स्वयंवर, gambling, departure to forest of the Pandavas.

*Karpuramanjuri* and *Balaramayana* (in which Bhavabhuti is named.)

Rajasekhara was also the teacher of Mahendrapala, 893 and 907 A. D.*

Rajasekhara's *style*—"If poetry consisted merely of harmonious sound, he must be ranked high as a poet. He is fond of proverbs. Important as he is lexicographically for both Sanskrit and Prakrita, it is undeniable that both were dead languages for him, which he had laboriously learned. But he possessed power of effective expression and is capable of elegant and attractive verses which are spoiled by their being embedded in masses of tasteless matter. He has a real poetic talent, effective lines of word painting.—Some stanza admirably conveys by its sound the sense at which it aims. *(Keith.)*

Magha's—*Sisupalabadha.* Magha was the grandson of Suprava Deva. It is mentioned in the Pravakara-

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*There was another Mahendrapala of Kanouj (761-62) who must be a feudatory maharaja different from the pupil of Rajshekhara or must have been one of his ancestors. Rajasekhara was the teacher of Mahendrapala (903-907) and also court poet of Mahipala of Kanouj, sovereign of whole of Arjyavarta (917 A. D.)—Asri Inscription. Mahendrapala's son was Mahipala.

charita of the Jainas that Sidharsi who composed *Upamitabhava Prapancha katha* in 906 A.D. was also a grandson of Suprava Deva and a cousin of poet Magha. Abhinava Gupta (between 993-1015) quotes Vamana of *Kavyalankaravritti*, and this Vamana quotes stanzas of Magha. Another Vaman who was attached to Jayapida's court is mentioned in Rajatarangini (779-813).

*Janakiharana* of Kumaradas—which Rajashekhara (900) mentions. It was originally 25 cantos of which 14 cantos are left. He appears to know Kasika-vritti which dates about 650. Both Bhatti and Janakiharana were known to Magha. Nagananda he knew (XX, 44).

Halayudha's—*Kavisrahasya, Avidhanaratnamala* and a *Tika* on *Pingalachhandasutra* to explain the distinction as regards sense and conjugational peculiarities of some roots (Bhandarkar). His patron was one of the 3 Krishnas—Rastrakuta kings of Deccan.

## 10th CENTURY A. D.

Jasastilaka—a Jaina romance, of Somedeva in 959 A.D. in the reign of Rastrakuta Krishna and his fudatory—a son of Chalukya Arikesarin II. It is in prose and verse. (Champu).

Jivanadharachampu—of Harichandra and Ramayana ascribed to Bhoja of Dhara, but much later than this king, according to Keith.

Damayantikatha and Madalasa (Champu—Prose diversified by verse—already current in fable literature)—of त्रिविक्रम भट्ट 915 A.D.—(Indra III, Rastra Kuta). The co-existence of 2 forms (Prose and Poetry)

dealing with the same subject is seen in Harisena's Prasasti.

Kshemiswara's *Chandakausika*—patronised by king Mahipala of Varendrabhumi. *Sahitya Darpana* quotes from it--not other Poetics, not in Dasarupaka, not in Kavyaprakasa.

Padma Gupta's (or Parimala's)—*Navasahasanka-charita* of 18 cantos—celebrating Sindhuraja, (of the Paramar dynasty who was king of Malava, successor of Munju, defeated the Huns).

Dhananjaya's *Dasarupa.*—Its gloss is by Dhanika, Dhananjaya's brother. In 974 a grant of land was found in Dhanika's name. Dhanika quotes a stanza in two places ; in one it is attributed to Vakpati-raja, in the other to Sri Munja. Dhanika names *Nagananda* (नाटक) and also mentions *Mudrarakshasha* and quotes from *Ratnavali*—attached himself to the court of Munja, uncle of Bhoja (974-993).

Mallinath (14th cent. A. D.) quotes from *Dasarupa* and *Kavyaprakasha.*

## 11th CENTURY A. D.

Udayana—author of *Nyaya Kusumanjali* was a pupil of Gobardhana.

*Prabodha Chandrodaya*—A play in 6 Acts. Abstract notions and symbolical figures act as persons—remarkable for dramatic life and vigour. Its patron was a Chandella king Kirtivarman.

*Mahanataka*—The great king Bhoja* who resided

*Later *Chaulukya* king of Deccan Tailapa (972 1000—A. D.) invaded Malava at the time of Munja, uncle of Bhoja.

at Dhara (capital of Malava) and Ujjain in the beginning of the 11th Cent. A.D. His Court poet Damodar Misra recovered this work from the sea where it was thrown by हनुमान after composition.

*Saraswati Kanthavarana* (अलङ्कार)—attributed to this Bhoja, may be of Briddhabhoja. F. E. Hall supposes this book to be of Vriddhabhoja antecedent to Bhoja of 11th century. *Swaraswati Kanthavarana* quotes Rajashekhar's *Karpuramanjuri*, Viddhasala Bhanjika and Valaramayana. It quotes also an extract from *Kadamvari* and quotes a stanza from *Ratnavali*.

Early in the 9th century the Pal dynasty ruled in Bengal. A copper plate grant at Munghyr mentions Devapaladeva of Bengal (king of whole आर्य्यावर्त्त and दाक्षिणात्य also). Devapala was the third of the Pal dynasty of Bengal during whose time (9th cent. A. D.), says Taranath the Buddhist historian, there lived two great sculptors and painters—Dhiman and Vitapala by whom was founded the school of painting and metal work in Nepal.

After the death of Mahipala in 1060, the Sen kings wrested Bengal from the Palas. Adisur—Jayanta—Vijoyasena.

Ballalasena (1159 A.D.) was established about this time. *Danasagaragrantha* is attributed to him.—"Pancha-

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Munja was captured and beheaded. Bhoja was minor at the time (Munja was on throne in 994 A. D.) Bhoja attacked Chaulukya territories and put to death a king Vikramaditya I (Bhojari) to avenge his uncle's death.

ratna" in his court at Paundravardhana (Pandua near Maldah)—were Gobardhana, Jayadeva, Dhoyee (author of Pavanaduta), Umapati, Kaviraja Sarana.

Lakshmansena king (vide note under Munju and Bhoja), born 1119. Mahmud of Ghazni's invasion took place in his reign. About this time (1170) a Rashtrakuta (Rathor) king Joychandra was master of Kanouj and his rival Chauhan Prince Prithwiraj, king of Ajmere and Delhi. Mahammad Ghori fought and defeated this Prithwiraj in 1191.

*Bikramadeva charita* (1085 A.D.) at Kalyana and of play *Karnasundari* and of *Chaurapanchasika* (a lyric)—of Kashmere poet Bilhana at the court of king of Deccan *Bikramaditya* II. Viynaneswar also lived there.

Someswar's *Manasollasa*—variety of subjects—during the reign of Someswar III, son of Bikrama II.

*Kathasaritsagara* of 22,000slokas and of 124 Chapters. —The 2nd and 3rd book contain the story of Udayana. His son is Naravahana Dutta. A Kashmerean poet Somadeva (1070 A.D.) is its author. (He lived in 1125 after Harshadeva of Kashmere perished in an insurrection—according to Fitz Edward Hall). He was the court poet of king Anantadeva (Rajatarangini) and a contemporary of Kalhana.

A legend is given in Kathasaritsagara and Brihatkathamanjari (of Kshemendra) and in Sloakasangraha about its origin. As the result of a wager with Sarvavarma, author of Katantra Grammar, Gunadhyaya debarred himself from the use of other languages. The locality is in Vindhya and his birth

is assigned to Pratisthana where reigned a king Satavahana. The work was known to Subandhu, Bana and Dandi.

Brihatkatha (according to Rajashekhar's Kavyamimansa, this Prakrita is a version of the dialect of the Vindhyas) of Gunadhyaya, written in Paisachi Prakrit, is its basis. A somewhat earlier recast was made of this by Kshemendra (1037-1066)—author of Kavikanthabharana and Suvrittatilaka, also his Bharatamanjuri and Ramayanamanjuri. Kathasaritsagara makes Gunadhyaya live about the time of Vyadi and Varuruchi. Vyadi is named in Mahabhasya and Varuruchi is a contemporary of Vikrama.

The author of Kathasaritsagara (Somadeva) states that Gunadhyaya, Katyana and Varuruchi are all contemporaries. Trilochana, author of Kalapa's Panji says that Katyana assumed the form of Varuruchi. Katyana became minister of last Nanda, so says Kathasaritsagara. Hemchandra and Medini Avidhanakara says that Varuruchi was another name of Katyayana.

*N. B. Kathasarit Sagara* Book XII contains the complete *Betala Panchabingsatika*. A prose revision of Betal Panchabingsatika is attributed to Sivadas Jaina. Sukasaptati—another fable.

*Santisataka*'s poet Silhana was a contemporary of Bilhana (*Rahasya Sandarva.*)

Chakrapani—commentator of Charaka physician of king Kaniksha (1st cen A. D.—Macdonell) and Susruta (between 350-100 B. C.)—his father was physician to king Nyayapala of Gour (1040). Chakrapani's eldest son Kramadiswara is the author of *Samkshiptasara*.

Udayana's—Nyayakusumanjali, Probodhasidhi, Lakshmanavali. He wrote Lakshmanavali in 906 saka year, in 1042. A.D.

Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda* (a lyric)—a court poet of king Lakhmanasena, of Bengal (1180—1200) ; Jayadeva is a contemporary of Govardhana, Dhoyi Sutradhara, Kaviraj, Sarana Umapatidhara, who make up 5 Jewels. धोयी—author of Pavana duta—a lyric. Sarana—author of Durghata Virtti.

Jaya-Deva's style is worthy of high praise. Now in a rapid flow of short words, now in a measured movement of long compounds, the poem brings home in a series of brilliant pictures the emotions it seeks to describe. The praise is fully due for his elegance of composition, for the sentiments expressed by, as well as the beauty and music of his diction. It is the creation of great poetic talent, is a perfect work of art. (Keith).

Govardhana a court poet of king Lakshmanasena of Bengal—His Aryyasaptasati—has been inspired perhaps by हाल's Saptasati written in महाराष्ट्री प्राकृत metre. गोवर्द्धन recognises Brihatkatha's author and associates him with Bharavi and Kalidas.

## 12th TO 15th CENT. A.D.

मङ्ख's श्रीकण्ठचरित 1135—45 A. D.—in 25 cantos describes the distruction of त्रिपुर by Siva. Canto 25th—a durbar of poet's brother, a minister of Jaya-sinha (1129—50) described.

Naisadha charita of Sriharsha—author of *Khandana*

*khadya kavya*—refuting all other systems, This *Khandanakhadya* has a reference to a Sloka of Udayana's *Kusumanjuli*. His patron was a king of Kanouj.

(1). One king of Kanouj reigned in the 9th century, according to Viswaprokash.

(2). One Sriharsha is mentioned by Khiraswami.

(3), Sriharsha showed his *Naisadha charitas* to his maternal uncle Mammatha bhatta of Kavya-Prakasha who expressed a regret that he had not seen it earlier. In his chapter of blemishes he had to travel through numberless volumes in search of illustrations,—he might have drawn on it to examplify every possible species of defect. Sriharsa was Sava Pandit of Govindachandra of Kanouj and Benares.

Govindachandra was the son of Madanapala and grand-father of Jayachandra the last independent Hindu King of Kanouj. [Gobindachandra's copper-plate grant, 1095—1153, Ind. antiq].

Kulluka —a commentater of Manu Samhitha lived after Jimutavahana but before Raghunandana (who flourished in the 16th cent. A.D. and who quotes Kulluka). Hence Kulluka lived in the middle of the 13th cent. Raja Ganesha of Bengal who flourished in the beginning of the 13th cent. is said to be a descendant of Kulluka (5th in descent).

Sayana—14th cent. Vijaynagore—Haihaya king.

Nalodaya—perhaps by Vasudeva, a poet of Keral.

Medini—14th cent. Mallinath quotes from one of Vopadeva's works. Jagaddhara quotes from Medini but Mallinath does not ; hence Malli must be older

than Jagaddhara. Medini in his introduction mentions one Madhava. This Madhava was perhaps a minister to Bukka and Harihara. Hence Medini—14th cent.

Rayamukuta ( अमरटीका )—wrote, as he says, in 1353 Saka or 4532 Kaliyuga, corresponding with 1431 A.D. and he quotes from Medini. Hence Medini after 1495 and before 1431 A. D.

Medinikara lived before Jagaddhara (who quotes it) and after Mallinath who does not quote it. Medini quotes Madhava (brother of Sayana perhaps).

*Hitopadesha,* of 4 books—14th cen. A. D.—earliest known M. S. in 1373 A. D.

Mallinath—refers to Piyusha-varsa in his commentary on a sloka ( उपारताः पश्चिमरात्रिगोचरात् ) in Kiratarjuniya. जगदीश in his Siddhanta Lakshana remarks— आलोक ग्रन्थस्य जयदेवकृतत्वात् जयदेव एव पक्षधरः Now पीयूषवर्ष is the author of आलोक,— तत्वचिन्तामण्यालोक, चन्द्रालोक, प्रसन्नराघवनाटक।

Jagadish Bhattacharjya. (During Babar's conquest of India. (16th cent.), remarks in his अनुमान दीधिति टीका (सिद्धान्त लक्षण) he was the Guru of Mahesha Thakkura, king of Mithila in 1478 शाकवर्ष। Vasudeva Saruabhavum was his desciple. Hence Mallinatha's time must have been between 1478 and 1580 शाक।

Mallinatha's son Kumarswami wrote a टीका on his Prataparudriya (*Alankara*)—Kakateya king Prataparudra humbled Hammira—contemporary of Singhana. He mentions Sahitya Darpana.

*Sahitya Darpana* of Viswanath Kaviraj—1450. 15th Cent. according to Cowel—(lived at Orissa in the court of king Narasingha of Kalinga.)—Its 'काव्यं

रसात्मकं वाक्यं" is refuted by Kavi Karnapura, author of *Alankara Kaustuva* and a contemporary of Sri Chaitanya.

Padyavali (Rupa Goswami) quotes *Sahitya Darpana* (1300-1384—a M.S.S. of *Sahitya Darpana* deposited at Jammu which dates 1384 A. D.). *Sahitya Darpana* gives a verse mentioning Allauddin. *Sahitya Darpana* quotes from *Gita Govinda*, also quotes a verse from Udayana's *Nyaya Kusumanjali*. Udayana was a pupil of Govardhana—author of *Aryyasaptasati* and a contemporary of Jayadeva. Sahitya Darpana also quotes from Sriharsha's *Naisadha Charita*. Jagaddhar, commentator of *Naisadha Charita* makes Sriharsha a protegee of Gobinda Chandra of Benares. Mankha, author of *Srikantha Charita* tells us that Gobinda Chandra, king of Konouj sent an ambassador to Jayasinha, king of Kashmere. Hence Konouj and Benares might have both been capitals of king Govinda Chandra. Sriharsha in his *Khandana Khadya* ridicules Udayana. Chandidas, a commentator of *Kavyaprakasha* was younger brother of Viswanath's grand father. *Kavya Prakasha-Kavya* mentions Abhinava Gupta who was still living in 1015 A. D. and Kavya Prakasha eulogises king Bhoja for his munificence.

Hence *Kavya Prakasha* was composed not earlier than 1056 A. D.

*Sangita-ratnakara*—of Sarnga-Deva,— 12th and 13th cent. ( Wilson) in the time of Yadava king Singhana, (Saka 1132-69—Bhadarkar).

*Chaturvarga Chintamani*—of Hemadri, who flourished

during the time of Mahadeva and Ramachandra—two kings of Yadava dynasty of Deccan (1260—1309). (Ram chandra—last king conquered by Allauddin Khiliji). Vopadeva, author of *Mugdhabodha* Grammar, was protegee of this Hemadri.

Prakriya Kaumudi of Ramachandra—in the 15th cent. A. D. Panini's अष्टाध्यायी arranged systematically.

## 16th TO 18th CENTURIES.

*Bhavamisra* of Bhavaprakasha in the 16th cent. A. D.

Bhoja Prabandha of Ballala Misra—16th cent. A. D.

*Padanka Duta* of Srikrishna Sarvabhauma of Nadia in 1645 Saka era.

Bhattoji Dikshita (Siddhanta Kaumudi, 17th cent. A. D.). His time is 1676—1716. For, in this time *Kuchamardana*'s author Jagannath Pandit refuted therein Bhottojis's *Prauda Monorama* lived in Benares during the reign of Emperor Shajehan. [For, in Jagannath's Rekhaganita book, another book, contains a Sloka giving the date 1714—"युगवसुनवभूवर्षे" इत्यादि। ]

Nageshabhatta writes in his प्रदीपोद्योत—"अधीत्य फणिभाष्याब्धिं सुधीन्द्र-हरिदीक्षितात्"—hence Nagesha bhatta is Hari Dikshita's desciple and this Hari Dikshita is the grandson of Bhattoji Dikshita (भट्टोजिदीक्षित) यथा, "भट्टोजिदीक्षित पौत्र हरिदीक्षितविरचिते "लघुशब्दरत्ने"।

*Bhasa-parichheda*—of Viswanath. He also wrote a Vritti on Nyaya-Sutra of Gotama. He was the desciple of Gadadhara Bhattacharyya who flourished in the 17th cent. (during the reign of Aurangzeb). Dharmarajadhwarina, author of Vedanta paribhasa was his contemporary.

## *DATE OF KALIDAS.*

*A.* Fergusson held the theory that king Vikrama of Ujjain having expelled the Scythians (शकs) founded *Vikrama* era in 544 A.D., dating its commencement back to 57 B.C. Tradition of nine gems connects Kalidas with this *Vikrama*. But—

(*a*) Fleet's researches prove that the *Vikrama* era of 57* was not founded in 544 A.D., but had been in use as *Malava* era for more than a century and it came to be called *Vikrama* era about 800 A.D.

(*b*) The Gupta kings conquered West India more than hundred years previous to the 6th cent. A.D., hence no Scythians could be driven by a *Vikrama* out of Western India.

(*c*) The Huns were expelled and not the Scythians by Jasodharman Vishnuvardhana ( यशोधर्म्मन् विष्णुवर्द्धन ) in the beginning of the 6th cent. A.D.

*B.* Mallinath makes Dingnaga, a contemporary of Kalidas. But—

(*a*) Little weight can be attached to the Buddhist tradition that Dingnaga was a pupil of Vasubandhu and

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* According to *Scandapurana—Kumarikakhanda—Vikrama* flourished when 3022 years passed of *Kaliyuga*. Dr. Peterson remarks that Kali dates from the year *one* of Vikrama era—Joun. B.B. R.A.S. 1862, vol. *XVIII*. Moreover, this era is adopted in Astronomical calculation—*Vikramaditya* is mentioned in the *Kathasaritsagara*. *Meru Tungacharjya's Patavali* also mentions Vikramaditya and it also places him at 470 years after Jaina Vira's era.

Dingnaga does not appear to belong to the 6th cent. as there was no *Vikrama* at that time.

*(b)* Works of Vasubandhu were translated into Chinese in 404 A. D. Hence Vasubandhu could not flourish in the 6th Cent. A. D.

(c) Some hold the opinion that Kalidas lived after astronomer Aryyabhatta* (499 A. D.) because he shows a knowledge of scientific astronomy borrowed from the Greeks. But Dr. Thibaut has shown that *Romaka Siddhanta*, a book written under Greek influence was current in India before 400 A. D.

(*d*). Vatsabhatti's poem (Mandasore inscription), dated 473 A. D., clearly utilised Kalidasa's poems and has several affinities,

[Aihole Meguti Inscription of Pulakeshi II (634 A. D.)—praises Kalidas and Bharavi in a couplet. सुतांहि सन्देहपदेषु occurs in Kumarila's *Tantra Vartika*. Kumarila between 700—750 A. D.]

These prove that Kalidas lived in the beginning of the 5th Century A. D. and not in the 6th Century.†

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* In the Ramayana distinct allusion to *Rashi* (zodiocal signs) is found. Boudhayana (3rd Cent. B.C.) also mentions *Rashi*—Dr. Buhler and Bhandarkar. Hence astronomy and astrology were in existence 1000 years before Aryya Bhatta.

† We give here Keith's estimate of Kalidas :—"Kalidas enjoying a full measure of prosperity in the golden age of India under the Guptas, viewed with a determined optimism all that passed before him in life, in strange constrast to the bitterness of denunciations of existence which Buddhism has set forth as its contribution to the problem of life. Assured as Kalidas was that all was governed by just fate he was incapable

## *AGE OF SANKARA*

Sankara's contemporary was Sureswaracharyya. His desciple Sarvajnatma ( सर्व्वज्ञात्मा ) wrote संक्षेप शारीरक and mentions a king of Chalukya dynasty. 'श्रीमत्यक्षत-शासने मनुकुलादित्ये भुवं शासति ।' From inscriptions of Chalukya kings, it appears they styled themselves as मनुवंश। Pulokeshi II (died 640 A. D.), was surnamed Vikrama-ditya. His grandson—Vinayaditya and grandson's son Vijayaditya. Vinayaditya reigned— 680-697.

Now, Sankara illustrates in Brahmasutra—

"उभयथ्याव्यामोहात् तत्सिद्धेः" ।—"गच्छ त्वमितो बलवर्म्माणं, ततोजयसिंहं ततो कृष्णागुप्तमिति ।" In Chhandogya-Bhasya (छान्दोग्यभाष्य)—"यथा पूर्णवर्म्मणः सेवा भक्तिपरिधानफला, राजवर्म्मणस्तु राजतुल्यफला ।"

Now, Cunningham's, Acheological Survey—vol. 14th —we find in Punjab inscriptions—Divakaravarma. His son Meruvarma. This Divakaravarma was Balavarma's

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of viewing the world as a tragic scene, of feeling sympathy for the hard lot of the majority of men. It is for this reason therefore that no solution of life is expected of Kalidas. Life is there to enjoy, we may drink deep the pleasures of love. But we must not seek to fight against fate. Indian poetry thus loses the possibility of the beauty which is implicit in the *struggle* of man's spirit against powers which avail to destroy him, but not to deprive him of his constancy. But there remains open a field in which much can be done of universal appeal and abiding worth, in the richness and beauty of 'form and sound'. More natural to modern feeling is Kalidas' constant attribution of life to things inanimate ; joy, sorrow, and every feeling of man can be attributed to mountains and trees and streams. The calm contentment with the established order of things which mark all his works shows him to be living in the prosperous days of Gupta Kings."

grandson. Balavarma's time nearly 650 A. D. Guzrat and Malava were adjacent provinces to Punjab. Jayashingha, a brother to Vikramaditya (son of Pulokeshi II) was ruler of Guzrat and Malava. Krishnagupta might have been a king in Ganga-pradesha,

When Sasanka destroyed वोधिगया, king Purnavarma preserved it and tried to save it. He may be Hiuen Tsang's contemporary—as at this time मोखरीवर्म्मा kings were reigning at Gaya. In 'असद्देवेदमग्र आसीत्'... शङ्कर mentions again Purnavarma. Hence, he might be contemporary of Purnavarma also. Hence Sankara flourished a little after 640 A. D.

Madhavacharyya, Sayana and Somanath were three brothers. Harihara and Bukka established Vijayanagar—14th cent. A. D. Somanath became जगद्गुरु शङ्कराचार्य्य of शृङ्गेरी मठ (Mysore, on the banks of Tungabhadra) under the name भारतीतीर्थ. Madhavacharyya became विद्यारण्य and after the death of भारतीतीर्थ, became माधवाचार्य of that मठ in 1380.

Sankara established four temples—(a) The Badrinath temple in the Himalayas, (b) Dwarka temple in Kathiwar, (c) Jagannath temple in Orissa, and (d) Sringeri temple on the bank of the river Tunglabhadra in Mysore.

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# IV

## *INDIAN DRAMA*

### (A) ORIGIN OF DRAMA

Certain hymns of Rig-veda are in the form of dialogues between persons such as *yama* and *yami*, Sarama and Pani, myth of Pururava and nymph Urvashi which is the foundation of the *Vikramorvasi* of Kalidas. It is probable, that the drama had its origin in a combination of these hymns in dramatic form and in religious dances until we get classical sanskrit dramas. This theory is borne out by the fact that the words *nataka* and *nata* are from root *nata* which is the Prakrita form of Sanskrit *nrit* (नृत) = dance. Hindu account was that drama came down from heaven as a fully-developed art invented by Bharata. (Stage is the pulpit from which the great lessons of life were preached to the multitude.)

This branch of literature had a full national development quite independent of western influence. The origin of acted drama was wrapped in obscurity. Nevertheless, tradition and language help us to discover its source with some degree of certainty. Bharata (*Natyasastra* of Bharata—1st cent. A.D.) was the inventor of the drama. The words नट and नाटक show that at first dancing movements were accompanied by mute gestures and movements of hands and face. Songs soon accompanied such dancing performances. The addition of dialogue was the last step in the

development. But compare the defination of Natya-sastra in Dasarupaka. "The science is called Natya because the Nata imitates and mimics the situations of four kinds of heroes (धीरोदात्त रामादि नायकस्य) ; it is also called Rupa, because some objects are offered to the sight of the audience ; it is called Rupaka because the situations of heroes are to be imposed upon the Nata. 'अवस्थानुकृतिर्नाट्यं, रूपं दृश्यतयोच्यते, रूपकं तत्-समारोपात्'। Moreover, a line of demarcation is laid between नाट्य and नृत्य। नाट्यं रसाश्रयं, नृत्यं ताललयाश्रयं, (अङ्गविक्षेपोऽभिनय-शून्यो नृत्यमिति)। नाट्यस्य वाक्यार्थाभिनयात्मकत्वं, नृत्यन्तु पदार्थाभिनयात्मकं; नृत्यस्य शोभाहेतुकत्वेन नाटकादावुपयोगः।" Nritya is regulated by marking of musical intervals and time.

The earliest references to acted drama are to be found in Mahabhasya which refers to *Kansavadha* and *Balivandha*. A drama was acted, it is said, before the gods representing the Swayamvara of Lakshmi. Tradition makes Krishna and cowherdesses the starting point of Sangita. Hence drama was developed in connection with the cult of Vishnu and Krishna and the earliest representation was a kind of *religious* play'. Elaborate rules and canons for the construction and the style of plays have been preserved—showing its rich and varied development in India.

## Remarks On The Origin Of The Drama.

Hertel's views on some of the dialogue-hymns of *Rigveda* are—that there is a collection of hymns which are of ritual uses, but there are other hymns of secular nature, as for instance, frog-hymn (VII, 103)—where a song is sung by men masked as frogs, *dancing* as a spell

to secure rain. In the gamblers' hymn (X. 34), it must be taken as a dramatic monologue in which dancers represent the leaping and falling dice. The dialogue of *Yama* and *Yamii* is a fertility drama. The view may be taken of the hymn of *Sarama* and the *Panis* which was recited by two parties and thus was a ritual Drama. This is Dr. Hertel's view. But Dr. Keith raises the objection by remarking that the hymns of *Rigveda* were not sung; only the verses of Samaveda (सामवेद) were sung; Rigveda verses are only recited. Why should we, says Keith, insist that *all* hymns were composed for ritual uses, when we know that ancient *tales* were used to pass the period and following the disposal of the dead ? We may assume that in the Rigveda we have hymns other than ritual or magic purpose ; the gambler's hymn can not be taken as ritual. There are some philosophical and historical hymns in Rigveda. Why should we turn them into dramas ?

Prof. Windisch, Pischel and Oldenberg suggested that these hymns in dialogue are of epic charater, in which verses were preserved and connecting links were in prose and were dramatic and hence the combination of prose and verse in the Sanskrit drama is a relic of this early form of literature which thus might serve both epic and dramatic ends.

Keith thinks it reasonable that the ritual itself did not consist merely of the singing of songs or recitations in honour of the Gods; but the performers of the rites assumed for the time being personalitiy other than their own. In the ritual of *soma*-purchase, the seller at the

close of the ceremony was deprived of his price and beaten and pelted with clods. Here is a *mimic* account of obtaining *soma* from the *Gandharvas*.

In the *Mahavrata* (*Sankhyayana Aranyaka*) we find materials for the origin of the drama. It is impossible not to see in the essential part of this rite, a mimic contest to gain the sun—the power of light, the Aryan, striving against that of darkness—the *Sudra*. This episode cannot be severed from the contest of summer and winter. There is mutual abuse here between a Brahmin student, a hetaera and the ritual purpose of this abuse is undeniable—it is aimed at producing fertility. The chief parts here were dance, song and music—this is the view of Hillebrandt and Konow. Of other elements which enter into drama, we find the songs of *Samaveda* and the use of ceremonial dances. At the Mahavrata (महाव्रत) the maidens dance round the fire to bring down rain for the crops. Before the marriage ceremony is completed, elderly matrons danced to make it fruitful (Sankhayana Grihyasutra, I. 2-5). If we accept the view that the dialogue in prose was added from the ritual element seen in the abuse at the *horse-sacrifice* and the *Mahavrata* ; then within *the Vedic* ritual we may find *all the elements for the growth of drama* present.

Hence we may speak of the drama as having its origin in the Vedic period. But on the contrary, "it was through the use of Epic recitations that the latent possibilities of drama were evoked and the literary form created." In Sanskrit drama the stanzas are not sung but recited and this practice of recitation (कथकता)

was no doubt derived from the Epic. "In a bas-relief from Sanchi, which may be safely placed before the Christian era, we have a representation of a group of these कथकs (reciters of the Mahabharata). We see in it that they accompanied their recitations with music, dance and indicate by gestures, the sentiments of the characters they presented". (Keith). Here, given the use of dialogue, the drama would be present in embryo.

*N.B.* In *Mahavasya* (140 B. C.) we find evidence of the existence of the Drama. Three sets of description are set out. The *Sovanakas* who represent by action without words; the *painters* by painting on canvas; and thirdly the *Granthiks* who make real to the spectators, by dividing themselves into two parties—the fortunes of their subjects, also by adopting different colours.

## V

## (B) NO FOREIGN OR GREEK INFLUENCE.

In the West, subject-matter comes first in almost all literary compositions and the style is simple. In the East, form is more important than matter—luxuriant style, not practical. The slender framework of the *story* is lost beneath rich descriptions, alliteration, compounds etc. It is difficult to prove the dependence of Sanskrit Drama on the Greek—the former being, of course, earlier. They are totally different both in plan and spirit. The least part of Sanskrit Drama or romance is the thread of the *story-adventures* of its characters. All the stress is laid on rhetorical embellishment, minute description of nature and details of mental, moral and physical qualities. In the Greek Drama or Romance, *story* is everything. The reader is hurried from adventure to adventure, the wilder and more improbable the better. Fine writing, descrip-

tion and appreciation of nature are non-existent and disregarded. The *spirit* of the Sanskrit and Greek Dramas or Romances is as divergent as the audiences of scholars on the one hand, and of weaklings on the other, for whom they wrote. Nor can any real affinity, much less any direct connection, be traced between them.

That there was no Greek influence in Indian drama, as Weber supposes from the use of Yavanika (Greek partition), is proved by the fact that—

(*a*) The earliest Sanskrit plays extant are separated from the Greek period by at least 400 years.

(*b*) The Greek theatre had no curtain at all to form the back-ground of the stage.

(*c*) No affinity to Greek tragedy can be pointed out. Sanskrit drama throughout is the romantic drama, —the drama of Shakespeare's latter days and not the classic drama of the Greeks.

Bibliographical lists of Indian dramas show little if not less than 500 plays,—a number that compares favourably with the histrionic outpit of the Elizabethan and Restoration periods. Some of them may date back 15 centuries or more and the movement reached its zenith when the Roman drama had died out and before the rise of drama in Europe had yet begun.

Special buildings for the presentation of plays are described. Behind the stage, was a curtain divided in the middle and behind that again was the green room (नेपथ्य), whence the actors came on the stage. (Very little is known of earliest dramatists before Kalidas. Bhasa, Ramila, Saumillaka and Kaviputras

were well known and popular play-wrights among Hindus of Kalidas' time, but our knowledge is confined to their names.) Most students are of opinion that *Mrichhakatika* is the oldest extant Sanskrit play. It is based on the state of civilisation shown in the play. Richness and diversity of Prakrit dialects were employed in its composition.

## (C) CHARACTERISTICS OF DRAMA

(*a*) Entire absence of Tragedy—as according to rules, *death** cannot be represented on the stage, one great source of inspiration for European tragedy is entirely eliminated. Emotions of terror, grief, pity are tranquillised by the happy termination of the story.

(*b*) Interchange of lyrical stanzas with prose dialects.

(*c*) Use of Sanskrit and Prakrita for particular characters.

(*d*) Jestor or (विदूषक) usually plays a prominent part and the hero and the heroine are in depths of despair in love.

(*e*) The aim of Indian dramatists is not to portray types of character but individual persons ; nor do they observe rules of unity of time and place.

(*f*) Every play begins with a prologue or introduction which opens with a benediction (नान्दी) ।

* Because, as M. Williams observes, the Hindus look upon no occurrence in human life as really *tragic*, but as unavoidable consequence of acts done in former bodies.

(*g*) The number of Acts varies from one (प्रहसन= Farcical) to ten.

(*h*) The principal sentiment or flavour ( रस ) should be erotic ( शृङ्गार ) or heroic ( वीर ) and in the conclusion, the marvellous ( अद्भुत )—(Expression of all feelings is allowed but preponderence is to be given to love and heroism).

(*i*) The play is placed in one or another of the 10 chief ( रूपक ) or 18 minor ( उपरूपक ) divisions of the drama, recognised by the text books.

(*j*) Scenes are marked by the exit of one person and the entrance of another.

[Among the Prakrit dialects (used by the women and the lower classes) the most important is Sauraseni; the Maharastri is confined to the poetical stanzas.]

N. B. In the plot itself or the story, the Hindu dramatists evince little fertility of invention because they borrow the story from Epic legends, but shows considerable skill in weaving the incidents of the plot.

The sense of the beautiful inherent in dramatic presentation was developed among the Hindus.

## (D) CLASSIFICATION OF DRAMA

Sanskrit plays are divided into two great classes—(1) *Rupaka* (principal dramas) and (2) *Upa-rupaka* (minor dramas).

There are ten species of *Rupaka*, some of which are here mentioned.

(*a*). The **Nataka**—the principal play consists of generally from five to ten Acts. If the number of acts be ten, it is entitled to be called a *Maha-Nataka*.

(*b*). **Prakarana**—in number of acts it resembles the *Nataka*, but the plot must be founded on some human or mundane story invented by the poet, as the *Mrichha Katika* and *Malati Madhava*

Another *Prakarana* is Mallika maruta of Uddandin natha (17th Cent. A. D.), Court poet of a zemindar of Calicut. Some *Prakaranas* by Jaina writers—Kaumudi Mitrananda in ten acts by Ramachandra, pupil of the great Hemchandra (1173 A.D.), Prabuddha Rouhineya by Rama-bhadra in six acts.

(*c*). *Prahasana* and *Bhana* in one act. As Surjya sakhagama of Jyotiswara—Kavishekhara under king Narasinha of Vijayanagara (1417—1507 A. D.). *Hasyarnava* of Jagadiswara, *Sringarabhusana* by Vamana Bhatta Bana (1500 A. D.), *Srtngaratilaka* by Rambhadra Dikshita. *Saradatilaka* of Sankara.

(*d*). Vyayoga in one act. Its principle flavour is comic and erotic As—*Partha parakrama* by Prahladana Deva (1163 A. D.). *Kiratarjantyam* by Vatsaraja, minister of Paramardideva of Kalanjara (1163 A. D.). Sougandhi-kaharana by Viswanath (1310 A. D.). *Dhananjoya Vijaya* by Kanchana pandit.

(*e*). Ihamriga in four Acts—a story partly popular, partly invented, The hero seeks a divine lady, unattainable like a Mriga (deer) As—*Rakminiharanam* by Vatsaraj.

(*f*) *Dima* (डिम) in four Acts—sentiment is *Roudra*. As—*Tripuradaha* (त्रिपुरदाह) by Vatsaraja. His Samudramathana is a Samavakara in three Acts.

(*g*) The Anka (अङ्क) or one Act-play—a play within a play in *Bala Ramayan*. As—Unmattaraghava

of Bhaskara poet (in imitation of Act IV of *Bikramorvasi* of the types of Upa-rupaka—As in *Subhadraharana* by Rupa Goswami. Natika-Ratnavali is an Upa-rupaka. The Trotaka त्रोटक as in *Bikramorvasi*.

## (E) LIMITATION OF SANSKRIT DRAMA

(*a*) It does not allow the enemy of the hero (नायक) to rival him, who must be shown to be inferior to the hero at every point, since that may destroy unity of the sentiment generated in the mind of the audience. (*b*) It does not seek realism ; only represents a stereotyped scheme of love, jealousy, separation, union calculated to produce the sentiment of love—no actuality into the character. (*c*) A tragedy is denied and comic is subordinated. Hence, thinks Keith, Sanskrit dramas could not achieve perfection of Greek tragedy and comedy. Kalidas does not show cruelty and difficulties of existence and of conflict between duties and sorrows resulting. As Epic subjects are generally undramatic, drama suffered from its close dependence on Epic subjects. (*d*) Individuality has no appeal ; no deviation from typical characters—a man without any faults. (*e*) Indifference to action and plot ; dialogue neglected in favour of stanzas. (*f*) Dramas being composed in Sanskrit and Prakrit were comprehended by a limited section of audience and hence the author sought to exhibit his skill in metrical form and arrangement of words. The fame depended on being read largely and not being witnessed so much. (*g*) It led to artificiality and unreality, though true poetic taste

existed. [Rajashekhara is emphatic regarding capacity of women, daughters of kings, of ministers, courtiers, wives of Jesters were skilled as poets,—ability to compose.]

## VI

## *THEORIES OF THE POETRY AND OF THE DRAMA.*

The *sentiment* which the performance or reading of a drama or a poem evokes in the minds of the spectator or of the reader is the most interesting part of this theory. A sentiment is generated by (*a*) a fundamental determinant (आलम्बन विभाव), such as a maiden,—inflamed by (*b*) an excitant determinant (उद्दीपन विभाव), such as time, place and circumstances (the moon, soft breeze, cry of birds, etc.) made cognisable by consequents—external manifestations—(अनुभाव),—such as sidelong glances,—strengthened by transitory feelings (व्यभिचारीभाव)।

"It is based on a function of words (ध्वनि), giving it power to produce sentiments"—such as joy, cruelty, anxiety etc. The dominant emotions enacted by the actor becomes a sentiment, because it is enjoyed by the spectator. This sentiment is a manifestation of that joy which is innate in the true nature of the self and is the result of the pervasion of the mind of spectator with the dominant emotion.

The spectacle or reading evokes in the mind of the spectator or reader the impression of emotion of love, and this ideal and generic exitation of emotion produces in him the sense of joy which is known as

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*sentiment.* He identifies himself with the hero or other character and thus to experience in ideal form his emotion and feelings.

A sentiment is thus something very different from an ordinary emotion ; it is generic and disinterested ; while an emotion is individual and personal. A sentiment is marked by that impersonal joy, characteristic of contemplation of Brahma.

The theory of ध्वनि was expounded about 820 A.D. and commented on by Abhinava Gupta (A.D. 1000) and adopted by Mammata. It is closely connected with the *sphota-vada* of the grammarians—an ideal entity revealed by the uttering of the sound of a word, bringing to the mind the sense of the term. Such power of suggestion (ध्वनि or tone or व्यञ्जना) is the soul of a poem, and not, as held by Vamana, the style (रीति) । What is suggested is normally a sentiment (रस)।

The view of ध्वनि-school has been refuted by Mahiman Bhatta who developed the view that inference was sufficient explanation for the enjoyment of poetry.

Bhatta Nayaka insisted that the three factors co-operate : the first is अभिधा—the expression in words, the second is भावकत्व—power of generalising to others which lies in a poem ; and the third is भोक्तृत्व—the power of the reader or spectator to enjoy. The real essence lies in the sentiment.

Kuntala revived the doctrine of Bhamaha—वक्रोक्ति—poets' skill in speech or metaphorical terms. Mahima Bhatta developed the principle that *inference* was the sufficient explanation of the enjoyment of poetry, wbich he treated in his व्यक्तिविवेक । The sentiment

theory prevails in Rudra Bhatta's शृङ्गारतिलक, as in Raja-Sekhara's काव्यमीमांसा। Jagannath in his रसगङ्गाधर insists that we must admit the existence of poetry where a figure or a thought alone is suggested, and the question of sentiment does not arise,—as for example, works in which the play of children or of apes is described by the poet in which no sentiment is suggested. Ruyyaka generally defends the Dhvani school on poetry, but he particularly recognises the importance of the *figures* of sense.

**There are Eight Sentiments : they are** :—Love (शृङ्गार), the Comic (हास्य), Pathos (करुण), Horror (रौद्र), Heroism (वीर), Fear (भयानक), Disgust (वीभत्स), Wonder (अद्भुत) and Resignation (शान्त)।

To sentiment, other resources of poetry is subordinate, viz : ten qualities of style (गुण), ten defects (दोष) and four figures (अलङ्कार)—metaphor (रूपक), simile (उपमा), a single predicate for more subjects (दीपक), and alliteration (यमक)।

## On the Development of the Plot of the Drama

### *An Action Of a Drama Involves Five Stages Of Development*

A desire to attain something (आरम्भ) which leads to the determined effort (प्रयत्न) to secure the object of desire. In the next stage the success is felt to be possible (प्राप्त्याशा)—having regard to the *means* available and the *obstacles* in the way of achievement. Then

comes the certainty of success (नियताप्ति) if the difficulty can be surmounted. Then the object is attained (फलागम) ।

Parallel with these five stages of action, there are also five elements of the plot (अर्थप्रगति) । The first is the *Vija* (बीज) whence springs the action : The second is the drop (बिन्दु) which spreads out as oil on water. The course of the drama (seeming to be interrupted) is again set in activity. The other three are the episode, the incident and the denouent (Karma).

Based on these is the third division of the junctures (सन्धि) which carry each stage of action to its natural close. They are—opening, progression, development (गर्भ), pause (विमर्ष) and cohesion (निर्व्वहण)—corresponding to the stages mentioned above.

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## VII

## *ETHICAL POETRY*

*Ethical* poetry : modern anthologies of Sanskrit *gnomic* poetry :—

Sadukti Karnamrita—Compiled in 1205 A.D. by Sridhara, son of Batudas—a Samanta of king Lakshmanasena—contains quotations from 446 different poets.

*Sarngadhara Paddhati*—It is an anthology dated the 14th century (1363-Grierson)—the author's grandfather Raghavadeva lived at Raja Hammir's court (1325-1357). It contains about 6,000 stanzas from 264 different authors.

*Subhasitavali* by Ballavadeva (1400-1450—according to Buhler)—contains 3,500 stanzas from 350 different poets.

Dr. Bohtlink's—Nestor of Indianists—contains text of 8,000 stanzas culled from the whole field of Sanskrit Literature.

The keynote prevailing in all this poetry are :—

(*a*) Vanity of human life.

(*b*) True happiness to be attained in the abandonment of desire and retirement from the world.

(Bhartrihari inculcates renunciation forcibly.)

(*c*) Necessity of pursuing virtue. No sin ought to be committed.

(*d*) Sympathy with joys and sorrows of all creatures.

(*e*) Forbearance towards good and bad alike.

(*f*) Value of intercourse with good men and true friendship.

(*g*) There is no escape from the operation of destiny, but man can by right conduct shape his future fate.

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# CHAPTER IV

## I

## *POPULAR TALES*

Gunadhya's (गुणाध्याय's) *Brihat Katha* was originally composed in Paisachi (पैशाची) Prakrita—a dialect in the Vindhya (Sir Grierson holds it was of North western language of cannibal Aryan tribes). Two versions of it are available, one *Kathasaritsagara* by Somadeva of Kashmere, but the texts perhaps were taken from a different source than the *Brihat Katha,* for into it much extraneous matter had been placed, including *Panchatantra* and it was re-fashioned in *Paishachi* language. Another version is the *Sloka-Sangraha* by Budhaswami—a Napalese work in Sanskrit. *Brihat-Katha-Manjari* by Khemendra gives another version of *Brihat-Katha. Kathasaritsagara* includes *Betala-Panchavinsatika* in full.

*Betala Panchavinsatika*—a prose recension is attributed to Sadasiva, a Jaina—it exists as an independent collection of 25 tales. A Jaina recension of Jambhaladutta (जम्भलदत्त) is available also. King Vikrama fetches from a cemetery a corpse hanging in a tree ; a demon who entered into the dead-body narrates a tale to the king and puts a question which the king answers breaking his promised silence with the result that the task was to be done over again.

*Sukasaptati* (शुकसप्तति)—c onsisting of seventy tales.

*Sinhasana-Dwatrinsika*—(सिंहासन-द्वात्रिंशिका)—consisting of thirty-two tales, told by the images who supported the throne of Vikrama.

*Jatakamala* (जातकमाला) is in the Buddhist literature by Aryya Sura in the 4th century A.D.

## II

## *FABLES AND DIDACTIC TALES*
## ( पञ्चतन्त्र and हितोपदेश )

There must have been an oldest form of a Proto-*Panchatantra* preserved in a Kashmerian version—the *Tantrakhyayika* (तन्त्राख्यायिका). It has been edited by J. Hertel and translated (1910-9 A.D.). It alludes to Chanakya and it knows something of Kautilya's *Arthasastra*. In it the term '*Dinar*' occurs—a borrowing from 'Dinarius'. In its original text, it consisted of five books, each with a story and tale interwoven.

Book I—सुहृद्भेद with 17 tales.

Book II—मित्रलाभ with five tales.

Book III—विग्रह with 11 tales.

Book IV and V—each with two tales.

The Buddhist flavour of the tale reminds us of the varied sources whence the writer derived the material. It is in prose, but interspersed by verses of gnomic character. Verses also form the introduction of tales. This type we find foreshadowed in the *Aitareya Brahmana*. The sources of the verses come undoubtedly from the vast body of maxims which were in circulation and of which many are enshrined in the *Mahabharata* and in the Pali *Jatakas*. The purpose of the book, observes Dr. Keith, "instruction for young princes, necessitates the adoption of a form of prose easy to comprehend and moderate in length. Rarely in

Sanskrit literature is the style more admirably adapted to the subject-matter and the purpose of the work." This *Tantrakhyayika* (तन्त्राख्यायिका) is superior to the later versions and represents the original more faithfully than they. From it ultimately came a version of the *Panchatantra* which was interpolated in the *Brihat Katha* of Gunadhyaya which existed in the North-west before the 11th Century A.D., when it formed the basis of the summaries of the *Brihat Katha* made in Sanskrit, first by Kshemendra and then by Somadeva. From this source an epitome is made, its date is post-Kalidasa, for a verse is taken from *Kumarasambhva.* This epitome is represented by the *Southern Panchatantra.* This epitome was recast, the order of Books I and II being inverted, and this recast is preserved in two forms—the *Nepalese Panchatantra* and the *Hitopadesha.*

*Hitopadesha* introduces new matter giving 17 new stories and adding many verses from the *Kamandaki Nitisara,* and omitting Book IV. Book III has been divided into two. The author's name is Narayana and his patron is Dhavalachandra. In the North-west and in Central India the *Panchakhayanika* has superseded the original entirely. The author is a Jaina. The work is not earlier than the 11th Century, as a verse of Rudrabhatta is cited. In 1199 it was made use of by a Jaina Purnabhadra, in producing a new version. To the Western world the Panchatantra was introduced by the enterprise of the physician Barzoe who under Khosrau Anosharwan (531-79 A.D.) translated a version of *Panchatantra* into Palhavi under the title *Karataka* and *Damanaka.*

Fable constitutes with the Hindus the science of नीति or Polity. It is specially intended for the education of princes and proposes to instruct them in those obligations which are common to them and their subjects and those which are appropriate to their princely office. Each fable is designed to illustrate and exemplify some reflection on worldly vicissitudes or some precept for human conduct and the illustration is frequently drawn from an imaginary adventure of animal existence. *Panchatantra* is far and away best master-piece in the whole fabulous literature of the world ; nay, it is the source from which the entire literature of fables—Asiatic or European has emanated. (*Panchatantra* is generally attributed to the fifth century A.D.)

**Panchatantra—derived from Buddhistic source :**

(1) Apologues and fables were current among the Buddhists from the earliest times and they are ascribed to Buddha himself. They are called जातक stories. The collection existed as early as the council of Vaishali 380 B.C.

(2) One of the Chinese Encyclopedeas which was completed in 668 A.D. contained a translation of some Indian fables and cites 202 Buddhist works as their sources.

(3) There are also many *internal* traces of the Buddhist origin of fables.

*Panchatantra* is divided into five parts.

Rudimentary fables are found in *Chhandogya Upanisad* and Kapila's *Sankhyadarsana*. Katyayana in his *Vartika* on Panini gives a name for the fable *Kaka*

*and Uluka* (काक and उलुक) which forms the title of the 4th tantra of the *Panchatantra.*

**Panchatantra—its translation :—**

(1) By the command of king khosrau Anushirvan this work was translated by a Persian Bazzoi into Palhavi (6th cen A.D.) and from Palhavi into syriac (6th cen. A.D.)

(2) Arabic translation in the 8th cen A.D.

(3) Greek translation (1180), Persian translation (1130), Spanish and Hebrew translations (1250).

(4) Latin translation (1270-printed 1480), German (1481) and Italian (1552) and French of La Fortaine (15th cen).

(5) English translation by S. T. North (1570).

[In the course of these wanderings, the fables have undergone certain changes.]

The date of *Panchatantra* is usually placed in the 5th cent. A.D., but many of its fables are referable to a period long preceding the Christian era.

Prof. Lassen of Paris asserts that 'the Arabian Nights Entertainments' is of Hindu origin. The "*box arrangement*" of the stories of *Dasakumara-Charita* may be traced to *peculiarly Indian scheme* which may be seen in the *Panchatantra, Kathasarit-Sagara* or the *Jatukas* and which was later carried to *Persia,* where it was incorporated in the *Thousand Nights and one Night,* ultimately appearing in the occident in the '*Decameron*' of Boccaccio.

1. *Batala Panchavinsati* by Jamvala Dutta told by a spirit to Vikramaditya.

2. *Simhasana Dwatrinsat*—told to king Bhoja by 32 images of Vikrama's throne dug at Dhara.

# CHAPTER V

## SYSTEMS OF HINDU PHILOSOPHY

### I

### (A) *GENERAL OUTLINES*

The beginnings of Philosophical belief are to be traced to the Rig-veda in which are found the speculations on the origin of the world and the Eternal Principle by which it is created and maintained. This philosophy is chiefly pantheistic and idealistic. By its side also grew up Atheistic and Empirical school of thought which furnished the foundations of Buddhism and Jainism of the6th century B.C.

### *MATERIALISM OR THE SYSTEM OF CHARVAKA*

Materialism is based on the Sutras of Brihaspati and the teachings of Charvaka.

The main metaphysical views of this system are that matter is the only reality. Individual life ends with the dissolution of the body and there is no life after death. The only criterion of truth is perception (प्रत्यक्ष) and the only end of action is the pleasure of the senses. In this system there are four elements, air, fire, water and earth and from these elements the intelligence (चैतन्य) is produced. The pleasure which arises from contact with sensible objects ought to be enjoyed while there is life. "While life remains let

him live happily, let him feed on '*ghee*' even though he runs in debt." This is the ethical teaching of the school. This is known also as the system of Lokayatikas', since it is directed to the world of sense.

## (B) *THEORIES COMMON TO ALL THE SYSTEMS*

Two theories and as a matter of that three theories are common to all the systems :—

(*a*) Transmigration of souls.

(*b*) Doctrine of *Karma*.

(*c*) Salvation which puts an end to the transmigration of souls and the cycle of births.

Prof. Macdonell thinks that the belief in the transmigration of souls has been taken from the original aboriginal inhabitants of India. But this view loses its validity and force when we find that the doctrine of transmigration is based on the theory of *Karma* which alone can account for and satisfactorily explain all the misery, inequality of fortune, and diversity of character in the world ;—that the *Upanishadas* which are regarded by the Hindus as the integral part of the *Vedas* contain this doctrine of transmigration in a developed form ;—and that the Code of Manu and all the systems of Philosophy have accepted this doctrine as an established, fixed and self-evident creed which could not have been the case, had its origin been on a foreign ground. Moreover, this theory and the theory of कर्म give a very rational and

plausible explanation of the misfortune or prosperity, or happiness which is often clearly caused by no action done by the individual in this life. It has two-fold merits :—

(1) Satisfying the requirement of Justice in the moral government of the world and—

(2) Inculcating a valuable ethical principle which makes every man an architect of his own fate.

This common creed holds, then, the eternity of soul which has existed everlastingly and will never cease to exist.

Secondly, this creed asserts the eternity of the matter also, i.e., of the substantial or material cause of the world.

[Vedanta treats the material cause illusory no doubt, but to affirm that the universe is a *part* of one only existing soul is equivalent to maintaining the eternal existence of both. Indeed, the belief in the eternity of the world's substance arises from the fixed article—"नावस्तुनो वस्तुसिद्धिः"—*Ex Nihilio nihil fit*".]

All the systems contend that every act inevitably entails a consequence—good or bad, and to enjoy these consequences, the soul must pass through constant succession of bodies. The great aim of Philosophy is to teach a man to abstain from every kind of action and to get rid of all sense of separate personality, for all action is caused by desire (वासना) which again is based on Ignorance or अविद्या। This अविद्या is destroyed by true knowledge—ज्ञान or विद्या which destroys the seeds of future action and thus puts an end to trans-

migration, It cannot however influence those *actions* which have already begun to operate and the fruits of which have already begun to ripen. Hence the present life continues till definite salvation is obtained.

II

## I. (A) *SANKHYA SYSTEM*

It is founded by Kapila. His teachings are dualistic, unlike the teachings of Upanishad and Vedanta and he admits two principles—primordial matter प्रकृति on the one hand and an infinite plurality of the individual souls पूरुष। (But *plurality* presuppose underlying *unity*, as trees presuppose tree, men are descended from man etc.—otherwise the character of पुरुष as being unconditioned, immortal, unlimited etc. would be destroyed.)

Evolution and diversity of the world are explained by this प्रकृति consisting of 3 substances सत्त्व, रजः and तमः। (प्रकृति is endowed with a power of motion—रजः। Kapil does not resolve matter into *mere* force, like some of modern physicists,—but one of its primary elements ;—सत्त्व is the formative *element*—the essence of being). By the combination of these in unequal proportions, the diverse products have evolved. Vijnana Bhikshu was the first to point out that these three Gunas are not mere qualities but real super-subtle substances. It is for the contemplation (भोग) of nature, and for abstraction (अपवर्ग) from it, that the union between soul and nature takes place and by that union creation is effected. (Creation is the development of 24

principles.) प्रकृति has been evolved into twenty-four (24) products thus :—

( प्रकृति *under* the eye of पुरुष,—world exists in the form of our knowledge, not as dead nature merely.)

पुरुष + प्रकृति

(By Juxtaposition, there was first awakening into physical and intellectual activities).

|

महत्तत्त्व

(Principle of Vibration) (परिस्पन्द)—cosmic side.
Principle of Intelligence (बुद्धि)—Psychic side.

|

अहङ्कारतत्त्व

Differentiation between—
1. Perceiver and 2. What is perceived.
*Possibility* of what hears, sees etc.
*and* what is heard, seen etc.
[No hearing etc. without sound etc.
also, no sound etc. without hearing etc.]

| | |
|---|---|
| पञ्चतन्मात्र | ज्ञानेन्द्रिय, कर्मेन्द्रिय and मन |
| 5 subtle elements. (Objects of senses *i.e.* objects of sound, touch etc.) | (Subjective power of perception *i.e.* of hearing, seeing etc.) |
| पञ्चस्थूलभूत (*Objective* material shape, as either, air, water, earth). | (Finally, *subjective* material shape of organs—ear, skin, nose etc.) |

N. B. मन—Collects the in-rush of scattered manifold impressions of sense-organs and arranges them into some class according to their species or properties.

The cause of bondage is the notion on the part of spirit, due to false knowledge, that the various forms of activity and feeling belong to it ; and as soon as it dissociates itself from them, consequently upon a a true knowledge of its own nature, and sees that they belong to Nature as represented in its physical constitution—it becomes entitled to freedom and is liberated.

The Sankhya system, though *material*, does not differ widely from the Vedanta which derives all things from spirit. From the order of the procession given above it appears that although *matter* is eternal, its forms are derived from spirit and have no existence independent of perception.

This remarkable system is the oldest in the world, according to Hindu view. It teaches that there are 24 principles and the 25th is पुरुष। Of itself, प्रकृति is non-intelligent and it becomes active by coming in contact with पुरुष (conscious Principle). The Sankhya says nothing of God, hence some regard it as a system of scientific Atheism. But that the system is theistic is proved by the fact that such a decided theist as पतञ्जलि vindicates its character and supplements it by Joga system. It does not indeed commit itself to a positive denial of God's existence, but God is believed to be incapable of dialectic demonstration ( "ईश्वरासिद्धेः" )।

It differs from Nyaya in these respects :—

(a) According to Nyaya, पुरुष is Agent and he enjoys the result of action ( कर्मफल )। Sankhya teaches—in its own nature पुरुष is no Agent and he

has neither happiness nor misery. He has nothing to do with कर्म, but coming in contact with प्रकृति he takes upon himself the good and bad result of *Karma*.

(*b*) Sankhya teaches—there cannot be anything which has not existed before (सत्कार्य्यवाद). Nyaya holds the opposite theory (प्रागभाव or असत्कार्य्यवाद).

Sankhya doctrine is an effort at unravelling the deep mysteries of existence. On the one side it exhibits the worthlessness of perishable universe and on the other, it places the imperishable soul. Kapila may be said to be the original author of the Evolution Theory. The absolute isolation of पुरुष from प्रकृति is the aim of the Sankhya system.

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The oldest systematic Sankhya manual is Iswarakrishna's *Sankhya karika* translated into Chinese between 557—583 A. D.

Gaudapada's gloss—700 A. D.

वाचस्पति मिश्र's टीका—1100 A. D.

ईश्वरकृष्ण took his contents from षष्ठितन्त्र।

अहिर्बुध्न संहिता refers to षष्ठितन्त्र in which 32 sections devoted to Metaphysics (प्राकृतं मण्डलं) and 28 to yoga and Ethics (वैकृतं मण्डलं)।

Aphorisms (साङ्ख्यप्रवचन)—authorship ascribed to Kapila himself.

भाष्य by विज्ञानभिक्षु—1600 A. D. (He was teacher of भावागणेश)।

अनिरुद्ध's टीका—1500 A. D.

सांख्यतत्त्व विवेचन—by Simananda ; सांख्यतत्त्व यथार्थ दीपन—by Bhava-ganesha—both written after Vikshu.

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माठरवृत्ति—was the वृत्ति on ईश्वरकृष्ण's साङ्ख्यकारिका। This माठरवृत्ति was translated into Chinese by परमार्थ between 557 and 569 A. D. परमार्थ was born in उज्जयिनी in 499 A. D.—went to China in 546 invited by king Wu-ti of Liang Dynasty. This परमार्थ wrote a life of वसुबन्धु (28—0360). विन्ध्यवास was वसुबन्धु's contemporary and he was the author of हिरण्य सप्तती। This माठरवृत्ति must be a sort of commentary on ईश्वरकृष्ण's कारिका। Hence ईश्वरकृष्ण's date must be 3rd cent. A. D. वर्षगण्य was the teacher of विन्ध्यवास।

## III

## (*B*) *YOGA-PHILOSOPHY*

Patanjali's योगदर्शन—(150 B. C.)—offshoot of साङ्ख्य has introduced into it the doctrine of a Personal God.

Its first chapter enumerates 8 stages by which योग—the complete union of the human soul with the Supreme soul can be accomplished, through the concentration of the mind in abstract meditation which is to be effected by preventing the modifications of चित्त by अभ्यास (habit of keeping the mind in unmodified state) and वैराग्य (suppression of passions).

The eight means of concentration are :—

(*a*) यम—Doing no injury to living beings, veracity, avoidance of theft, chastity, non-acceptance of gift.

(*b*) नियम—External and internal purity, contentment, austerity, chanting hymns, reliance on God.

(*c*) आसन—100 (one hundred) postures.

(*d*) प्राणायाम—Regulation of प्राण Inhalation, Exhalation, Suppression.

(*e*) प्रत्याहार—Restraint of the senses.

(*f*) धारणा—Steadying the mind.

(*g*) ध्यान—Contemplation.

(*h*) समाधि—Transportation of mind—profound meditation.

The second chapter deals with the ways and means to perform समाधि; the third speaks of the powers developed in a perfect योगी; the fourth treats of मोक्ष—salvation.

This Yoga Philosophy was propounded by Patanjali. Tradition makes him the same man as the author of Panini's महाभाष्य.

According to the Yoga, the seeing the difference between '*matter*' and '*spirit*' cannot be sufficient for achievement of salvation. The psychical tendencies ( संस्कारs and वासनाs ) should be destroyed by means of a regular practice, and when they are destroyed, must the bondage necessarily disappear.

N.B. Commentary of Bhoja Raja ;—Bhasya of व्यास; Other commentators—विज्ञानभिक्षु (योगवार्त्तिक), वाचस्पतिमिश्र and नागोजीभट्ट.

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## IV

## 2. *MIMANSHA*

This is the collective name of two of six divisions of Hindu Philosophy. They are *Purva* and *Uttara* Mimansha. The former treats of rituals and कर्मकाण्ड as promulgated in the Brahmanas and उत्तर मीमांसा or the Vedanta or ब्रह्मसूत्र or शारीरक सूत्र treats of the nature of Brahman and the soul (जीवात्मा) as taught in the Upanishads.

The most important doctrine of the Mimansha philosophy is the self-validity of knowledge (स्वतः प्रामाण्य), as distinguished from the opposite theory of the Nyaya School (परतः प्रामाण्य), according to which mere perception is no proof of the validity of knowledge. The मीमांसा maintains that all knowledge, except that due to memory, is valid in itself and requires no other proof for the certitude of its truth.

If all knowledge due to perception is valid in itself, what explanation is there of the possibility of *illusions* (भ्रमज्ञान) ? The subject of illusion has been discussed by all the systems of Indian philosophy. The common examples of illusion are those of a rope appearing to be a snake in dim-light and that of a piece of conch-shell (शुक्ति) perceived as silver. (1) The आत्मख्याति of the Buddhist Idealism holds that the whole reality and the knowledge of it consists of a flow of *ideas* which creates both the perceiver and the perceived. Correct perception and illusion are both forms of this internal knowledge independently of any external data, for there are no such in existence. (2) The न्याय and योग are of

opinion that illusion is due to mal-observation, for example, the glow common to a piece of silver and a conch-shell is noticed ; and by the accidental remembrance of a piece of silver seen in the past, the present object of perception is also taken to be of the same metal. In addition to a failure to distinguish between the object which actually exists and that which is wrongly perceived, there is also a piece of positive false identification of the one with the other. This is अन्यथा ख्याति of Nyaya. (3) The अख्याति theory of मीमांसा school does not recognise this positive element, although illusion is partly remembrance and partly apprehension, owing to the fact that this act of remembrance is not taken note of at the time of false apprehension, the illusory perception also appears to be as true and valid as a correct perception.

## *VEDANTA*

The Vedanta is one of the great feats of the Hindu genius. The वेदान्तदर्शन of बादरायण व्यास begins with a refutation of the atheism and a vindication of the theism. It then lays down that the only way to the salvation or emancipation is आत्मज्ञान or a true knowledge of the soul.

ब्रह्म is the looker on —साक्षी— a *subject* independent of all personality and *existence* independent of all life. The identity or oneness of the subjective and the objective self is recognised as underlying all reatity—as the pure light of philosophy. This fundamental idea is worked out with systematic completeness in the Vedanta Philosophy. Ramanuja held that the relation

between God and Soul is that of a master and servant —that they are separate entities and that there are innumerable souls. The great Sankaracharyya believed that the Vedanta teaches that there is only one ब्रह्म and all else is माया or illusory appearances—that no object can exist independently of one existence—one self-existent and independent essence ब्रह्म. Only one existence ब्रह्म pervades all things—makes them what they are and if it be withdrawn, everything else loses its so-called existence. One universal essence called ब्रह्म is to the external world what yarn is to cloth, what milk is to a curd, what earth to a jar, gold to a bracelet. God is the material as well as the efficient cause of the universe ;—the potter by whom the fictile vase is formed and the clay out of which it is fabricated. It means that the *substance* as well as the *form* of all created beings was derived from the *will* of the cause. He is Existence, Knowledge and Joy (सच्चिदानन्द)। He is without parts and unbounded by qualities (निर्गुण)। Foams, waves, billows, bubbles—are not different (अनन्य) from the sea. There is no difference between the universe and ब्रह्म। The effect is not different from its cause. By reason of अविद्या, the personal soul of every individual (जीव) mistakes the world, as well as its own body and mind for realities,—just as a rope in twilight may be mistaken for a snake. The moment the personal soul is set free from this self-imposed अविद्या by a proper understanding of the truth, all the illusion vanishes and the identity of the जीवात्मा and the whole phenomenal world with the ब्रह्म is re-established.

The fundamental tenet of Sankara consists not

in denying the existence of *matter*, but in correcting the popular notion of it, and in contending that it has no essence and existence *independent* of mental perception—that external appearances are illusory and the world vanishes into nothing, if the divine essence—energy—which alone pervades and sustains them is suspended but for a moment.

False knowledge or माया—is a very ambiguous term in Sankara system. It is described as inexplicable —अनिर्वचनीय, but positive. It envelopes the true Reality (ब्रह्म) and is removable by true knowledge. Is this *Maya* merely a subjective ignorance, or has it an objective reality ? Has it a beginning or origin, what is its cause ? If it has no origin, is it co-existent with Brahman ? These questions present a real difficulty in this system. If *maya* or false knowledge is subjective ignorance it should disappear as soon as we are told that all reality is Brahman only. But we find that in spite of every effort that one may make to be convinced of the truth of Vedantic doctrine, the world of plurality and difference stares us in the face. If it is objective, how is it going to be removed by knowlege, which is necessarily a subjective intellectual awakening ? Further, if it is positive and objective something, the doctrine lends itself to an undeniable dualism.

The *Theory of Illusion* (भ्रमज्ञान) in the Sankara school —As the world in this view is neither *Sat* nor *Asat*, the theory is generally known as—अनिर्वाच्य ख्याति। *Avidya* or nescience is the root-cause of illusory-percepts. It conceals the locus (अधिष्ठान—ब्रह्म) and

makes new projections—"स्पष्टं पुरोवर्त्तित्वेन भानात्—आनन्दगिरि।" —This projection is not non-real (असत्) for it appears; and not real (सत्) for it is denied as soon as the locus is clear to the view. This projection has an *objective* reference as the percept is not a mere hallucination. A mere subjective impression has no localisation in time and space. Hence, the content of illusory perception is not to be confounded with memory-image; it is entirely a new creation or something originated which was not previously in the realm of experience. It has also an objective meaning. According to Sankara, knowledge and object are different. The mental activity (मानसी क्रिया) of perception is not the explanation of objects, but the nature of the object (वस्तुतन्त्रत्व) is the cause of mental activity. Where there is no object, there can be no knowledge, according to Sankara*; the वन्ध्यापुत्र (Barren woman's son'), आकाशकुसुम (Sky-flower) etc. are unreal (*asat*) and hence there can be no knowledge of them. Thus the object of illusion has some sort of reality, in this view. In error, Pratibhasika (apparent) object is

*Besides the Sankara-school of Vedanta, there are other schools founded on the different interpretations given by different Acharyyas of the Brahma-Sutra of Vadarayana. School of Srikanta (5th Cent. A. D.); School of Ramanuja (1017-1137); School of Nimvarka (11th Cent. A.D.); School of Madwacharyya (Dwaita-vada) known as पूर्ण प्रज्ञदर्शन (1199—1303); School of Vallabha (1st part of 16th Cent.); Bengal School founded by Sri Chaitanya (1485—1533)—अचिन्त्य भेदाभेद Theory. Valadeva Vidyabhusan (13th Cent.). Vijnana Bhikshu (15th Cen. latter half.)—Vedanta-bhasya from साङ्ख्य Stand-point,

superposed upon an empirical object—as the silver on the conch-shell. The superimposition of empirical world of नाम-रूप on Brahma is also erroneous. It is in this sense that the world is regarded in this school as 'unreal', and Brahman as the sole reality.

## V

## 3. (A) *NYAYA*

Nyaya system is founded by Gotama. Sankhya reckons up synthetically twenty-four principles out of the original eternal germ प्रकृति, whereas न्याय investigates the subject *analytically*. The processes by which the mind arrives at true knowledge are, according to सांख्य, only three, perception, inference and trustworthy testimony, whereas न्याय adds the fourth उपमान comparison (analogy).

The way to salvation is the right knowledge of पदार्थ—substance or being which Gotama classifies as under :—

प्रमाण, प्रमेय (all objects or subjects of प्रमा or correct knowledge), संशय (doubt, the point to be discussed.), प्रयोजन (motive for discussing it), दृष्टान्त (familiar example must be quoted in order that a conclusion (सिद्धान्त) may be arrived at, then comes an objector with his अवयव (argument split up into 5 members), next follows तर्क (refutation of his objection) and निर्णय (ascertainment of true state of the case), as every possible objection must be stated, hence follows—वाद (controversy) leading to जल्प (mere wrangling) followed by वितण्डा (caviling), हेत्वाभास (Fallacious reasoning), छल (quibbling), जाति

(futile replies), and निग्रहस्थान (putting an end to all discussion by showing the objector's incapacity for argument. These are गोतम's 16 sixteen topics.

European Logic employs phraseology founded on *classification*, while न्याय makes use of *terms* upon which a classification would be founded. The one infers that "kings are mortal, because they belong to the *class* of mortal beings." The other arrives at the same conclusion—because "mortality is inherent (व्याप्ति) in humanity and humanity is inherent in kings." This proposition would be stated by the European as—"All men are mortal", by a Hindu as—"where there is humanity, there is mortality." The European is assisted by the abstract idea of *class*; the Hindu makes use of what is termed व्याप्ति (Invariable concomitance). [This curious term stamps न्याय as an *independent and original* (No Greek influence) analysis of the laws of thought.]

The process by which Vyapti (व्याप्ति) is determined is a generalisation by experience or induction. Hindu logicians are aware of the necessity of a sound induction for the establishment of a universal proposition. Such a proposition must be proved by affirmative and negative induction. The two suggestors of the relation of cause and effect are—

(1) This concomitance of affirmatives—that whenever the product exists the material cause thereof exists; and

(2) this concomitance of negatives—that when the material cause no longer exists the product—no longer exists.

The Nyaya view of causation is known as असत् कार्य्यवाद—the doctrine that the effect does not exist in the cause beforehand, but that it is produced out of it by the conjunction of certain conditions.

This doctrine is opposite of the सत्कार्य्यवाद of the Sankhya which holds that the effect is already present in the cause and therefore the effect is only another form of the cause.

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## (B) *VAISHESHIKA*

Vaisheshika of कणाद completes the न्याय system, extending न्याय to Physical enquiries. He explains the universe under seven categories (enumeration of some general properties which may be predicated of existing things) —द्रव्य (substance), गुण (quality or property), कर्म (action), सामान्य (class, or community of properties), विशेष (atomic individuality—having eternal ultimate difference distinguishing each from the other), समवाय (intimate relation), अभाव (negation of existence).

**The points of difference between न्याय and वैशेषिक :—**

*(a)* न्याय distributes the contents of the universe into sixteen categories, while वैशेषिक, into seven only.

*(b)* न्याय accepts four kinds of प्रमाण ; वैशेषिक only two—प्रत्यक्ष and अनुमान and rejects उपमान and शब्द ।

The formation of the world according to both was effected by the aggregation of 'atoms' which are eternally aggregated, disintegrated, re-disintegrated by the power of अदृष्ट ।

The theory of the propagation of *sound* (like a succession of waves, and like the bud of कदम्ब plant) cannot fail to excite wonder. No less remarkable is the statement that heat and light are only different forms of the same essential substance.

According to न्याय and वैशेषिक—there are five members of syllogism, instead of three as in the English syllogism—Proposition, Reason, Example, Application, and Conclusion.

(1) Mountain is fiery (Proposition or प्रतिज्ञा hypothetically stated.)

(2) Because it smokes (Reason or हेतु).

(3) Whatever smokes is fiery, as a kitchen hearth (उदाहरण or example, equivalent to Major premise).

(4) This does smoke उपनयन or application of Reason, equivalent to minor premise).

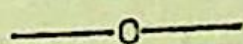
(5) Therefore it is fiery (conclusion or निगमन—i.e. प्रतिज्ञा re-stated as proved).

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*N.B.* वात्स्यायन or पक्षिलस्वामी—about 400 A.D., wrote his Nyaya bhasya (must have flourished before Dinnaga, as the latter criticises him (न्यायसूत्र I. 1 : 4 : ) and possibly before also Vasubandhu whose theory of syllogism so antagonistic to अक्षपाद was not referred to by Vatsyayana. Vatsyayana criticises लङ्कावतार सूत्र and माध्यमिक सूत्र composed about 300 A.D. Dinnaga lived about 500 A.D. and Vasubandhu about 480 A.D. Dharmakirtti, a Buddhist Logician 600 A.D ; Uddyotakara, a Brahmin Logician wrote *Nyaya-vartika* refuting the view of Dinnaga. In *Nyaya-vartika* he

mentions वादविधि or the वादन्याय of Dharmakirti. On the other hand, Dharmakirti in his *Nyaya vartika* mentions a sastra which evidently refers to this *Nyaya vartika*. Hence Dharmakirti and Uddyotakara were contemporaries of Vatsyayana who flourished about 633. Subandhu of *Vasavadatta*, Vana and king Sriharsha of Thaneswar during whose reign Hiuen Tsang travelled 629—644 A.D.—all lived during this age. Vachaspati misra must have flourished in the 10th cen. A.D. as he compiled his Nyaya Suchi Nivandha (न्यायसूची निबन्ध) in the year 898,—which, if referred to शक-era corresponds to 976. Vachaspati wrote a gloss on *Nyaya-vartika*—न्यायवार्त्तिकतात्पर्य्यटीका।

Udayanacharyya—author of *Kusumanjali* and *Atma-tatwa-viveka* wrote a sub-gloss on Vachaspati's work—called "न्यायवार्त्तिकतात्पर्य्यटीका-परिशुद्धि:"। He wrote also *Lakshnavali* (लक्षणावली) in which he says, he composed it in Saka era 906, corresponding to 984 A.D. Jayanta—author of Nyaya manjari (न्यायमञ्जरी) was a Kashmerian Logician who lived about the 11th cent. A.D. He quotes Vachaspati. Sridhara—(contemporary of Udayana) wrote *Nyaya-kandali*. Sivaditya's *Saptapadarthi* (10th. Cent.).



## VI

## *LATER BUDDHISM*

Nagarjuna, the founder of the Madhyamika (माध्यमिक) Philosophy flourished at the time of the 3rd council. The doctrine of महाशून्य as exposed by Nagarjuna—being the basis of माध्यमिक Philosophy is but a reflection o

the ब्रह्मवाद as inculcated in the upanishads. योगाचारs and माध्यमिक's—the two descendants of महायान school, are but idealists in their own way. The former admits as reality nothing but विज्ञान—consciousness and are designated as विज्ञानवादीs. माध्यमिकs are absolute nihilists carrying the theory of Name and Form into its extremes and denying all existence whatsoever—regarding the whole of phenomenal world as a mere illusion.

After Nagarjuna, the chief expounder of the महायान Philosophy was Vasubandhu. He composed many commentaries and he recast the nihilism of महायान school, giving it an air of reality and tangibility.

The योगाचार school also in its later development assimilated some magic circles with मन्त्रs about 700. A.D. and received the appelation of मन्त्रयान। About the 7th cen., the cult of "female energies" was found grafted upon the theistic महायान and pantheistic mysticism of योग। Afterwards, it adopts the theory of कालचक्र। It wants to establish a union with काली and the ध्यानी बुद्धs—the Adi बुद्ध—and attempts to explain creation and agencies of nature in the light of this union.

But the Pal kings did much to restore Buddhism to its former height and grandeur, purging off all impurities and unwelcome elements.

दीपङ्कर श्रीज्ञान otherwise known as अतिश was the head of विक्रमशीला monastery 1035—1038 A.D. Other names are Ramai Pandit, Hadi siddha, Kamala Kucila, Narendra sri Jnan and Dana Rakshit.

Now, two मार्गs were recognised—the Pravirti Marga

aiming at realisation of the unity of आदिबुद्ध and आदिप्रज्ञा ( पुरुष and प्रकृति ) through love and enjoyment of the world and the निवृत्तिमार्ग—at the absorption of the soul in the great शून्य, through purity, love and renunciation.

The most important writing of the महायान-school is प्रज्ञापारमिता। It is the मूलशास्त्र of this school and is devoted to the elaboration of शून्यवाद।

Dr. Kern writes—"After the invasion by the Mahammadans in 1200 A.D. the monasteries of Odantapur and Vikram Sila were destroyed and the monks were killed or fled. The learned शाक्यश्री went to Orissa and then to Tibet." "Many emigrants from मगध rejoined their brethren in the south and founded colleges in Vijaynagore, Kalinga and Kanchana."

शून्य is not described as being an airy nothing but as the essence, the total abstraction of all powers and activities. "Know the निर्गुण to be above and independent of the attributes. By knowing him all the wordly ties are cut asunder". Hence शून्य is the total abstraction of all phenomenal activities. It does not mean "devoid of attributes," but *above and independent* of attributes, of which the worlds are but manifestations.

शून्यपुरुष—is living within our souls and can be realised only if we can throw off the shackles of nature and her concomitant fears and temptations, and can be reached only by resting all our thoughts upon Him as शून्य। (This was the nature of doctrine in Orissa at the time of प्रतापरुद्र king).

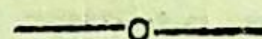
In the 10th Cen. A. D. क्षेमेन्द्र—the renowned Kash-

mirean Pandit and author of 'अवदान कल्पलता' discussed the महायान Buddhism.

According to Lama Taranath, Tantrism which was only a degraded form of योग, was transmitted from the time of असङ्ग and धर्मकीर्त्ति।

बुधगुप्त तथागतनाथ—a Tibetan Buddhist came on a visit to India in the 17th Cen. A. D.

In the reign of king दिव्यसिंह in 1875 in Orissa, the celebrated भीमभट्ट flourished.



# CHAPTER VI

## *HINDU MATHEMATICAL SCIENCE*

(1) The *Aitareya Brahmana* (III, 44) contains some scientific remarks on the rising and setting of the sun showing that the Hindus knew and cultivated Astronomy more than 2,000 years before the birth of Copernicus.

(2) Lunar mansions ( नचत्रs ) are mentioned in connection with the moon in the *Rig-veda* (I, 50. 2.). The 27 lunar mansions clearly implied a lunar division of the zodiac into 27 equal parts. The adjustment of the lunar to the solar year by the insertion of a thirteenth month ( मलमास ) is alluded to in a hymn of *Rig-veda* ( I. 25. 8).

(3) The invention of Algebra and its application to Astronomy and Geometry is due to the Hindus. The Arabs received from the Hindus the conceptions of Algebra and also the numerical figures and decimal notation now current in Europe (8th and 9th centuries). शुल्भसूत्रs—are earlier than the Alexandrian geometry of Hero (215 B. C.) and Euclid (300 B. C.) and Hindu Geometry forms an integral part of श्रौतसूत्र which arose from the construction and arrangement of sacrificial altars (वेदी).

(4) Although according to Prof. Whitney, there are reasons to suppose that many astronomical terms such as होरा, केन्द्र, द्रक्कान etc. were borrowed from the

Greeks,*—Varaha Mihira (504 A. D.) gives Greek names of the planets side by side with Indian appellations and *Romaka-Siddhanta* indicates Western origin, still the Hindus independently advanced Astronomical science further than the Greeks and in the 8th and 9th centuries the Hindus taught the Arabs in this Science also.

The earliest known Hindu *astronomers.*—

(*a*) *Aryyabhatta* born at पाटलिपुत्र 476 A. D.—Dr. Bhaudaji—Jour. R. A. S. New series, vol. I, p. 405 from a passage in one of Aryyabhatta's works.—lived during the reign of Scandagupta 5th Cent. A. D.

(*b*) *Varaha-mihira*—born near Ujjain (505) and died 587 A. D.—6th Cent. A. D. (*Brihat Samhita and Brihatjataka*).

(*c*) *Brahma Gupta*—6th Cent. A.D., (born 598 A.D. —Bhaudaji—*Brahma-Siddhanta*—containing chapter on Arithmetic and Algebra.)

(*d*) *Bhaskaracharyya*—12th Cent. A.D. (born, 1114 A.D.—Bhaudaji)—*Siddhanta Siromani*, containing Algebra ( बीजगणित ) and Arithmetic ( लीलावती ).

*N.B.* In the 18th Cent. A.D.—Raja Jaya Sinha II constructed a set of observatories at Jaypur, Benares and Ujjain.

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*The Greeks received the Science of Astronomy from Babylonia (700 B. C.). Zodiacal Sign तुला (the balance) is not mentioned by Hipperclius (150 B. C.)—first mentioned by Siminus and Varo 1st Cent. B. C. (*Max Muller*)

# CHAPTER VII

## *HINDU SCULPTURES AND PAINTINGS*

**(A) Particular features and chief characteristics of Hindu art :—**

I. Comparison of Western and Eastern art-culture :—

With the Europeans, nature is a reality to be studied and analysed, so that exact composition of every organic and inorganic element in it may be explained. Hence, *imitation* is the only end of all fine arts. With them, the highest type of beauty is what is most admirable in types of *physical* human forms and in natural forms.

Indian philosophy regards all we see in nature as illusive phenomena and declares that the only reality is the Divine Essence. So, Indian art is striving always to realise something eternal and to bring down to earth something of the beauty of the things above. The highest *type* of beauty is to be sought not in *imitation* of human or natural forms, but to *suggest* something more subtle than physical beauty.

II. Characteristics :—

(a) Figures not thorough in general technique : extreme simplicity of form and contour, suppression or effacement of *anatomical* structure relating to the mechanism of human body, attenuated abdomen and waist.

*(b)* Indian idealism is the dominant note in the Art of India. Hindu Sculptors and Painters suggest type of abstract beauty far *removed* from worldly passions and desires. Their intention is to suggest inner self—purer soul within—purified and *exalted* by communication with the universal soul.

*(c)* They show a purer and finer substance than ordinary flesh and blood.

*(d)* They endow the drawings with divine and super-human attributes (4 hands, 3 eyes etc.) quite regardless of physiological probabilities.

*(e)* They choose an imaginative rather than a natural ideal.

(*f*) Symbol of purity, divine birth and expression of heavenly grace—mark the figures.

*N.B.* When Buddhism fell from its high pedastal and lapsed into idolatory, Super-human forms predominated in sculptures and paintings.

(B) **Sculptures and Paintings—their period and places :—**

(1) Cave temples of Elephanta (Bombay)—नरसिंह, हिरण्यकशिपु and रावण under Kailash, Ellora and Ajanta (Maharastra—N. W. of Nizam's dominions), Mother and child painted before Buddha. [ Elephanta—Siva as Bhairava, रावण under Kailash—from the 6th to the 8th Cent. A.D.]

Ajanta paintings on walls and ceilings—1st Cent. to 7th Cent. A.D. During Pulokeshi's reign some paintings added—7th Cent. A.D. (Time of Nagarjuna—2nd Cent. A.D. ; some also place these in Govardhana's time by artist Sringadhara—Taranath.) Asoka's zeal

led to excavations of temples and monasteries out of solid rock.

(2) Rock-cut Chapterhouse at karli—by a merchant prince of वैजयन्ती, the capital of Kadamba Dynasty in Canara.

(3) Bharhut-rail (सुदर्शन-यक्षिणी) Asoka's time ; sculptural rail at Amaravati (Settlement of Buddhists on the Krishna river, Madras, 2nd Cent. A.D. Nagarjuna's time ; also Kashmere School of art—हसुराज—Taranath.)

Sanchi sculpture (Female figure from eastern gateway)—from Asoka's time to 140 B. C.—these are almost all stone rails enclosing the procession paths.

(4) Singiri rock in Ceylone—2 caves—paintings 5th cent. A.D.,

Anuradhapur* at Ceylone—Collosal statue of Buddha--161—131 B.C., and 5th and 6th cent. A.D.

(5) 75 B.C.—started a Hindu expedition from the Eastern part of India ( कलिङ्ग ) and colonised *Java* and civilised the aboriginals of the place. Then afterwards, Java was colonised by Hindus from Guzrat in 603 A.D. Saka kings after their defeat by Chandragupta II—colonised Java and brought Indian art-tradition. Then Brahmanical influence lasted from 950 to 1500 A.D. The famous structure of *Borobudur* (statue of ध्यानीबुद्ध or प्रज्ञापारमिता statue) constructed 750 to 800 A.D. (Incidents of बुद्ध's life in high and low relief.)

At *Pranbanam*, Java,—temple dedicated to Vishnu—all Ramayana legends sculptured.

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* A great *stupa* is to be seen still here which contains the ashes of महेन्द्र, the younger brother of Asoka.

(6) Temple of Nakhon Vat, a vast structure exceeding Borobudur in dimension,—in *Kambodia* (Kashmere School of art—Taranath) [Hindus from तक्षशीला colonised this place, 4th cent. A. D.]—battle scenes from the *Mahabharata*.

(7) Nepali—Tibetan School of paintings,—copper-guilt statues. Art introduced from Nepal into Tibet by a Tibetan king in the 7th cent. A.D.—images cast in metal, on banners. etc, ( देवपाल and धर्मपाल's time—Bengal—9th cent. A. D.—artists धीमान् and विटपाल—Eastern or मध्यदेश School of painting—Taranath).

N. B. Types of physiognomy and character—given with *varieiy* and power of expression. Compare the two Heads of Bhima (भीम) and Buddha (बुद्ध) at Central Java—differentiation of divine from mortal beauty strongly and remarkably shown herein.

(8) Saranath—the art brought by Buddhist missioneries of Asoka.

(9) Suryya temple at Konarak, Orissa ;—13th cent. A. D. (A richly caparisoned war-horse portrait.)

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## CHAPTER VIII

### *HINDU WAR PHILOSOPHY*

Hindu sages held that peace was the normal state and war is the abnormal condition of human society. "The king should gain victories without battles,"—so says the Mahabharata. Men are in possession of five kinds of strength (1) strength of arms, (2) Good counsellors, ( 3 ) wealth, ( 4 ) births, ( 5 ) strength of intellect. Shun the waging of war for the acquisition of territory. Territory should be gained, nation's boundaries to be enlarged by conciliation (साम), by gifts ( दान ), by exciting disunion among other kingdoms—भेद (modern divide and rule). Even when thou hast gathered together a mighty army, you should first adopt peaceful behaviour. If these efforts prove unsuccessful, then may enter upon battle.

Treaties and Alliances hold prominent place among various methods. Three kinds of treaties,—(1) those made through fear (to ensure themselves against aggression from powerful rulers) ; (2) Those made through good offices (as of Nepal for good offices done in mutiny) ; (3) made through gifts of wealth i,e, through subsidy. Alliances are regarded as invaluable aids to peace and supports in war. Different friends of the ruler are ( 1 ) One who pursues the same object, (2) who is exceedingly attached to him, (3) who is related to him, (4) whose good will is gained by presents and kindness, (5) an upright man who will range

himself on one side and not on both sides. Mistrust him as an enemy who would profit by your own destruction ; trust him whose fall would be consequence of your own fall (शान्तिपर्व XXXV etc.)

Before resorting to force, diplomatic agents and envoys (दूतs) ought to be despatched to try what could be effected by peaceful pursuation. Ablest brains, Object or aims were pressed into this service.

There was a great secret service system with approved rules (विराटपर्व XXVI) : Spies.

Hindus had gone deep into the questions of neutrals : Neutrals are divided into four heads,—(1) one who could not but be affected by the progress and result of war ; (2) Practically unaffected by war and hence felt hardly any concern in the progress of struggle ; (3) who would be affected, and who could alter the course of war without becoming belligerents, by manipulating economic forces. (4) who, fought the course of war. [These could be moved from one class to another with skill to suit the purpose of belligerents].

Forces of the Hindus were no irregular, plundering bands, but large and disciplined armies consisting of four divisions.—(1) Regulars, (2) Allies (3) mercenaries, (4) irregulars. Each made up of eight parts—cars, elephants, horses, officers, infantry, camp-followers, spies and ensigns ( शान्ति पर्व V ). There were volunteers. Subsidies were paid to certain people in return for military service. Had rules for formations of troops, system of signalling, armour, badges,

rewards for valour, medical crops and envoys (see शाल्व's investment of the city of Dwaraka etc).

Invention of gunpowder is ascribed to Roger Bacon (13th cent. A. D.) and Berthoed Schwartz (14 cent.). Gun and gunpowder were known to Hindus about thirty centuries before that date. Mahabharata mentions instruments of war which resemble canon and guns.

*Tulagudas* equipped with wheels and worked by air-expansions, emitting loud noise like clouds (वनपर्व XLII) and engines for hurling balls and bullets (XV, ibid) are described at the seige of Dwaraka. Seige mines were also employed, for it is described that holes and pits were dug for two miles round the city and secretly filled with the combustable materials. शुक्रनीति and नीतिप्रकाशिका—on warfare mention guns and gunpowder and German scholar Gustav Oppert places these works as contemporary with *Manu Samhita.* The Masket (नालिक) as described in his translation of Sukra-Niti (शुक्रनीति) "has a straight body, is thin-limbed and hollow in the middle. It pierces the vitals, is dark... it is ignited and pierces the mark." (On the weapons, and army organisation of Hindus by Gustav Oppert—Trubner, London, 1880). शुक्रनीति distinguishes weapons large and small and those carried on cars—the latter evidently canons. It gives a description of cleaning and loading of a gun and preparation of gunpowder (अग्निचूर्ण) enumerating the ingredients.

To the Hindus, righteous battle was a virtue. "They were slain while charging with faces towards their foes". None fell wounded in the back or flying.

Life laid down in battle is for heroes' blessed gates in heaven.

Hindus admitted that warfare cannot always be waged in straightforward manner. "Both kinds of wisdom, straight and crooked, should be at king's command. Yet he should not employ the crooked wisdom as aggressor. As trying to produce disaffection among ministers, allies, etc.—these may be employed in self-defence ( शान्तिपर्व xcv, 9etc. ) " The ruses must be met by ruses".

Hindu rules for righteous warfare rested on grounds of both humanity and policy. Contest ought to be waged on humane lines as well as for a righteous cause. Hindu's sense of fair play far exceeded that which now prevails.

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## CHAPTERS IX AND X

## *(1) FOREIGN RELATION AND (2) ANCIENT DYNASTIES OF INDIA*

(1) The Punjab was under the sway of the Persian for about 250 years. It formed part of the Persian Empire from 520 B.C, to about 331 B.C, Cyrus the great conquered the kingdom of Bactria (It was watered by Oxus i.e.. Amudariya and its capital Balkha—बाल्ह्रीक). Next to Cyrus, Darius (521 B.C.) brought under sway the Punjab and the whole valley of Indus. It lasted till 350 B.C.

The Persians

(2) The destruction of the Persian Empire by Alexander the great led to a new invasion of India. In 327 B.C. Alexander passed over the Hidukush. After his conquest, he left a body of troops at Bactria. After his death, Bactria and the Punjab fell to the share of Seleukos—the founder of Syrian (N. W. of Arabia) monarchy (312—280) B.C.*

His grandson Antiochus lost Bactria which was usurped by the father of Demetrios (also a Bactrian Greek). The *Bactrian Greeks* (यवनस) came in contact with the Mauryya Kings before the close of the third cent. B,C. and settled over the Punjab and Sindh. Antiochus of Syria and Ptolemy of Egypt were contemporaries of

The Bactrian Greeks.

* Chandragupta reigned from 316—292 B.C.

Asoka. After Asoka's death, the Greeko-Bactrian princes began about 200 B.C. to conquer Western-India and ruled for 80 years. Demetrios held sway over the Indus (190 B,C.,), Kashmere and also Guzrat. The most prominent among these were Heleokles (last Greeko-Bactrian king)—160—120 B.C., and Menander (150 B.C.)—supposed to have been converted into Buddhism. Menander (together with the king of Kabul and the Punjab) advanced as far as Saketa साकेत and threatened Pataliputra-capital (155—3 B.C.) [Patanjali in his Mahabhasya refers to this seige of Saketa].

In the early part of the 2nd cen. B.C. these Greeko-Bactrian kings conquerd Taxila (तक्षशीला).*

The Nandas usurped the throne of Sishunaga dynasty [Bimbisar and Ajatasatru belonged to this dynasty and Darius of Persia invaded some portion of the country during बिम्बिसार's reign.]† Chandragupta overthrew the Nanda dynasty and founded मौर्य्य dynasty. 331 B.C. [During Asoka's reign (His son), Hirat, Kabul up to Hindukush were included in his kingdom. Asoka built श्रीनगर in Kashmere and ललितपाटन in Nepal.]

*Taxila—Rawal Pindi districts. Alexander found this district in the hands of Takshakas. This people was traced to Scythian migration 6th cent. B.C. Taxila was a great University-town where students flocked from all parts of the country, [Nalanda in Gauda, Benares, Sridhanya Kataka on the Krishna and Jagaddal in Dinajpur—were famous Universities].

† बुद्ध and महावीर (जैन founder) preached in बिम्बिसार's reign. अजातशत्रु conquered कोशल and वैशाली—the capital of the लिच्छवी clan. He erected a दुर्ग in village Patali—it was known as कुसुमपुर, पाटलिपुत्र and became the capital of मगध during मौर्य dynasty.

पुष्यमित्र 184 (B.C,), general of the last मौर्य king and founder of Sunga dynasty murdered बृहद्रथ, the last मौर्य scion. पुष्यमित्र pushed back the Greeko-Bactrian kings (under Menander) to their northern home ; but they must have remained till the invasion of the Indo-Scythians. * (Se—section of Scythians being driven out of their territory between Su and Jaxartes by Yuehchi section—moved in southernly direction and burst upon Bactria (130 B.C.) and extinguishing Greeko-Bactrian kings entered India (became satraps of Persian power who established Persian kingdom at this time). Yuehchi section in 1st cen. A.D. poured to Bactria and occupied the whole Afghanistan and Kashmere and the Indus valley.)

The power of this dynasty declined in time and Andhra dynasty became powerful in Southern India and annexed Northern India to their territories about 27 B.C. (अन्ध्र dynasty is known as शालिवाहन kings...their fall happened in the 3rd cen. A.D.) Hala was the 7th king of this dynasty.

Hemachandra in his *Deshikosa* gives Salivahan, Hala and Kuntala as the names of one man. (Hemachandra's Prakrit Grammar was dedicated to king Jayasingha of Anhilbad (1094—1173), son of Karnadeva of Guzrat. Also "शालोहाल-नृपे सतस-प्रभेदे सज्जंपादपे"—महेश्वर's विश्वप्रकाशकोश (uncle to Vopadeva).

शालिवाहन (1st cen. B.C. and 1st and 2nd cen. A.D.)

* पुष्यमित्र performed अश्वमेधयज्ञ which पतञ्जलि perhaps witnessed —perhaps his contempory (140—150 B.C.)—Smith. अग्निमित्र, पुष्यमित्र's son, defeated the Raja of विदर्भ (detailed in Kalidas' मालविकाग्निमित्र)।

The authorship of *Saptasati* in old Maharastra dialect is attributed to this हाल and he is mentioned in Vatsyayana's *Kamasutra*. Bana in his *Harshachrita* speaks of this *Saptasati* and in *Saraswati Kanthabharuna* and in *Kavyaprakasha*, verses from it are quoted. *Paisachi Brihat Katha* is attributed to Gunadhyaya, a minister to this Hala and *Katantra* grammar to his another minister or spiritual preceptor, Sarvavarmacharyya. [Chaturbhuja's *Vaidyakula Panjika* (वैद्यकुल पञ्जिका) (written in 1269 Saka) gives a different account. He makes Salavahana a king of Bengal, the inventor of Sala era (शालाब्द) and he says "यस्याज्ञया सर्व्ववर्म्मा चकार शब्दशासनं And शालवट्टहितुवंशे × × × आसीत् गौड़े महाराज "आदिशूरः" प्रतापवान्"]

[The Scythians—Two branches—One was Se and the other known as *Juehchi* (who subsequently drove the Se-branch) entered India 100 years after the chief of Kushan under kadphises made himself monarch of Juehchi nation and occupied whole Afghanistan and conquered North Western India (Kaniksha belonged to this family)]—The Scythians occupied the countries between the Chu and the Jaxartes from the earliest times and they were making slow but continuous progress towards proper India for centuries together and afterwards towards the middle of the 2nd cen. B.C. (160 B.C.), they must have established their power and made northern countries of Kabul their home. These *Saka* hordes being driven by Yuehchi branch from the territories between Chu and Jaxartes burst upon Bactria 130 B.C. and overflooded Greeko-Bactrian kings.

Sythians :
(1) Se-section.

One branch settled at Taxila in the Punjab (100 B.C.), Mathura (100 B.C) and in Malwa at Ujjain (displacing native Rajas) ; another section occupied सौराष्ट्र or Kathiwad and lasted for centuries. In 126 A. D., the Andhra king Vilivayakura II, destroyed the power of a great शक-king in west—Nahapan the Kshatrapa.* After his destruction the local government of west was entrusted to Chastan, acting as viceroy under Andhra *M*onarchs, and his capital was at Ujjain in Malwa. (This Chastan is mentioned as a contemporary of Ptolemy.) Rudradaman of Ujjaini was his grandson who gave his daughter in marriage to Pulomi II (son of Vilivayakura II) who removed capital to Paithan, but he waged war with the monarch and सौराष्ट्र, Cutch, Malwa, Konkon became detached (150 A. D.) from Andhra dominions. Some of these were afterwards recovered by Jajna-sri in 184 A.D. But these Scythian ( शक ) Satraps were not finally shattered until the time of Chandragupta II.

(2) Yuehchi. Section.

*Kanishka* who founded शकाब्दा or saka era in 78 A.D. (but Smith thinks it is Salivahan-era and Kanishka succeeded in 125 A. D.)—was the most famous of the Scythians of Kushan section of the yuehchi nation who gradually settled in Afghanistan and Bactria and

* Smith thinks that this title shows that these Scythians regarded themselves as subordinates to the Persian sovereign. Movements of these Scythians were connected with the growth and development of Parthian and Persian power at the time. These Persian kings pushed their power to Kabul valley (180 B.C.). This power became extinct when Sushan hordes occupied the placc.

became master of Kashmere etc. after suppressing chiefs of the Punjab and Indus valley. [Bhandarkar thinks that the Sakas under Nahapan made themselves masters of the country sometime between the 2nd king and गोतमीपुत्र शालिवाहन, and the last recovered the provinces lost to his dynasty. Relations between गोतमीपुत्र and Pulomi, and Chasthan, Rudradaman, Nahapan—all these gave rise to the tradition that Vikramaditya of Ujjaini was defeated by शालिवाहन who infused life into clay figures—this refers to the defeat of Rudradaman's father Jayadaman by गोतमीपुत्र शालिवाहन ]. Kanishka made conquest of the North western India as far as Benares. His capital was Puruspur or Peshwar—(78 A. D. to 150 A. D.). His dynasty broke up in the 3rd cen. A. D. or 5th cen. and lingered until the Kushan kings were overthrown, by white Huns, from Punjab and Kabul also.

(3) The Huns.

White Huns or the Mongal tribes poured down from central Asia and became powerful as far as central Asia. These assailed the Kushan kingdom of Kabul and overwhelmed Gandhar or Peshwar and the ancient city Balkh and they poured into India in the 5th cen. A. D. and attacked Kumaragupta, under Toraman, which however, was repulsed.

The Guptas—4th, 5th & 6th cent.

A Local Raja Chandra Gupta near Pataliputra (Pushpapur) in मगध assumed the title of sovereign and struck coins in 319 A. D. (Gupta-era). Samudra-Gupta, his son, made a conquest of whole India (326 A. D.) extending from Hughly to Jumna and

from the Himalaya to the Narmada river. Assam and Malwa also became subordinate territories. His son succeeded in 375 A. D.—Chandra Gupta II. Vikramaditya (Kalidas might have flourished during this Vikramaditya's reign—*Smith*). He slew the Saka-Satrap Rudra Sinha, son of Rudra Daman of Kathiwad and Malwa (and conquered Guzrat from the Sakas who so long reigned there ; after this the Sakas went to यवद्वीप and colonised the place)—and annexed the territories and earned the appellation of शकारि* (388-401 A. D.) [Fa-hien visited Pataliputra.] Narasinha Gupta Baladitya assisted by Yasodharman Vishnuvardhan, a Raja of central India and a feudatory of the Guptas inflicted a decisive defeat about 530 A, D. on Mihirkul—son of Toraman, chief of Huns and the Huns were no more heard of after this crushing defeat. [This Yasodharma took the credit of the battle to himself and erected two columns (Mandasor Pillar) of victory inscribed with boasting words. In these he claims to have brought the whole northern India under subjection and set

*His son Kumaragupta Mahendraditya 413 A. D.—his son Skandagupta Vikramaditya (455) defeated the Huns. Again he was attacked by them in 465. His brother Puragupta Prakasaditya succeeded (480)—succeeded by Narasinhagupta Baladitya (removed capital to अयोध्या)। [चन्द्रगुप्त = दिलीप of रघुवंश ; रघु = कुमारगुप्त महेन्द्रादित्य, अज = स्कन्दगुप्त (स्कन्देन साक्षादिव देवसेनां')] Crown prince स्कन्दगुप्त was established at मालव as a general to quell a rebellion there—( अत्यादित्यं हुतवहमुखे सम्भृतं तद्धि तेजः—मेघदूत )। The 16th canto of रघुवंश narrates the decline of the dynasty after स्कन्दगुप्त—the 8th cent. A. D. The dynasty declined and became split up into several dynasties.

up his capital at Ujjaini. But *Hiouen Tsang* (629-645—Travels) is silent and gives credit of the victory to Baladitya.*]

The Valabhis, 6th and 7th cent.

Towards the close of the 5th cen. A. D. a dynasty established itself at Valabhi in सौराष्ट्र (Kathiwad) and it lasted till 770 A. D., when it was overthrown by Arab invasion. The city was visited by Hiouen Tsang when ध्रुवसेन—ध्रुवसिंह—was on the throne (640 A.D.). These वल्लभिs inherited the fragments of the Gupta Empire during its decline. [The princes of this family emigrated from Guzrat and founded the kingdom of Mewar which still subsists].

Harsha Siladitya, 7th & 8th cent.

In the latter part of the 6th cen. A. D. a Raja of Thaneswar—प्रभाकरवर्द्धन प्रतापशील—(his mother was a princess of Gupta lineage) attained eminence and he sent his son राज्यवर्द्धन to attack the Huns on the North western frontier whom he defeated. About this time his father died and he succeeded to the throne, But soon he was called away to punish a king देवगुप्त of Malwa, who went over to Kanouj and killed ग्रहवर्म्मन ( मौखरी )—king of Gaya—his sister's ( राज्यश्री's ) husband. He was defeated, but राज्यवर्द्धन was treacherously killed by शशाङ्क king of central Bengal. (Some say that his capital was कर्णसुवर्ण near

*From this circumstance, many have identified him with the Vikramaditya of the legends whose court was adorned by 9 gems. The Vikrama era 56 B. C.—Yasodharman gave its present name to commemorate this victory. But this theory is wrong—*Smith.*

Murshidabad). माधवराज—"Saila" king of Kalinga was शशाङ्क's ally and the whole of Banga, Mithila and Magadha must have acknowledged his power and was included in his empire.

His younger brother हर्षवर्द्धन शिलादित्य II *succeeded 606 A.D. (died in 648 A.D.)—Konouj was his capital. हर्ष brought all India 'under one umbrella' by conquests. After the death of Sasanka, whole of Bengal became Harsha's empire. Raja of Kamrup, Raja of Valabhi (connected by marriage) attended him as tributary. Ujjain and Paundra-vardhan (in Bengal) were subject to Harsha's control. Harsha also maintained diplomatic intercourse with China. But he was defeated by Pulokeshi II, of Chalukya dynasty of Deccan (620—640 A.D). हर्ष was the last independent king of Northern India before the Mahamadan inva-

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* According to Hiouen Tsang, from 530—580 a king शिलादित्य reigned at Mo-la-po—very learned and devout Buddhist. Dr. Stein, Hornle, Max Muller erroneously thought it to mean Malava (Ujjain) and connected it with Harshavardhana Siladitya of Konouj and Thaneswar. This is a mistake. Mo-la-po was a kingdom at the head of the gulf of Cambay and it included modern Khara, Amahabad and parts of Baroda—inhabited by men of learning and intelligence—*Smith.* Siladitya—(his father—Vikramaditya—called Harsha by Wassil Jew). Full name is Siladitya Pratapasila (530—580) Hiouen Tsang speaks of his father as Vikramaditya (Ferista calls this Siladitya Pratapasila as Bhoja. A statement in Jain work—Satrunjaya mahatma tallies with this Vikrama and Sila very approximately. As this Siladitya was king of Western Malava ; Devagupta was king of Eastern Malava. After Pulokeshi II, his son Vikramaditya was monarch of Southern India. He made his brother Jayasinha ruler of Guzrat and Malava. (Vide P. 57 also of this book).

sion. At this time Adityasena of Magadha-gupta-dynasty was powerful in Magadha. Taranath, a Tibetan Lama who wrote in 1612 a history of Buddhism, says that the sculptures of Ajanta belonged to the time of this Harshavardhana Siladitya,

Munja & Bhoja, 9th to 11th cent.

In the 9th Cent. A.D. a dynasty known as Paramara-raj dynasty—[contemporary—Mahipala in Gauda and Chaulukya dynasty—( मूलराज ),] was founded at Malwa (Ujjaini) by Krishnaraj and lasted for about four centuries. The Seventh Raja was Munja, patron of poets and himself a poet. Dhananjaya, Dhvanika and Halayudha graced his court. He was captured and executed by Chaulukya king Taila II in 995. [Capital at kalyan—their kingdom or empire over which they ruled was known as (Karnata kingdom).] The nephew of Munja the famous Bhoja ascended the throne of Malwa (Ujjaini) but resided at Dhara' about 1010 A.D. and he was a great patron of learning and a skilled author. Many works are attributed to him and he reigned gloriously for 40 years. In the 9th Cen. A. D., two dynasties—*Chandellas* (west of Magadha) and *Kalachuries*—ruled in (a) the provinces between the Jumna and the Narmada (modern Bundelkhand) and further to the south, and (b) Chedi kingdom. Gangeyadeva of Chedi (contemporary of Ganda of the province between Jamuna and Narmada) sought to attain the position of paramount power of upper India and his son Karnadeva joined Bhima of Guzrat in crushing Bhoja of Malwa in 1053 A.D. Karnadeva suffered defeat

at the hands of Kirtivarma of Chandella (1049—1100). This Kirtivarma was patron of *Prabodha-chandrodaya Nataka.*

In the 8th Cen. Yashovarma (who belonged to Maukhuri varma kings to which belonged the husband of sister of Harshavardhana) was the king of Kanouj after the death of Harshavardhana. The author of Gauda-vaha was his court poet, who described the conquest of this king and his war against Jivita Gupta,—grand son of Adityasen—king of Magadha and Gauda who was killed by him and who defeated the king of Bengal. This Yashovarma was defeated and dethroned by Lalitaditya of Kashmere and he captured the king and also whom he killed. After this, Harshadeva of Kamarup established his kingdom at Gauda, Orissa, Kalinga and Kosala.

Pala dynasty, 8 to 11th cent.

At the latter part of the 8th Cen. Pal dynasty was established in Bengal (गौड़)—Gopala—Dharmapala (Mithila and Magadha were also included in the latter's empire. From Gandhar to Mithila was under king Indrayudha. This Indrayudha was defeated by Dharmapala who established Chakrayudha as king of Kanouj (9th cent.)—Dharmapal's son Devapala—at this time Nagabhatta was king of Guzrat (*Pratihar* dynasty) whose grandson was Mihirabhoja who conquered Kanouj. Devapala's younger brother conquered Orissa and Kamrup. Devapala defeated Mihirabhoja (9th cent.). Vigrahapala, Narayanapala, Rajyapala, Gopala II. Mahipala (966 A.D.). A king from कम्बोज

(Tibet) defeated Vigrahapala II, father of Mahipala. Mahipala was contemporary of a Paramar king Vakpati Munjaraj of Malava (974-979), and Chaulukya king Mulraj ; and Mahipala was living in 1026 (सारनाथ's स्तम्भ). He recovered his lost kingdom. सागरदीघि at Murshidabad and महीपालदीघि at Dinajpur—dug by the command of this Mahipala. (Mahmud's invasion took place)—His son Nayapala (1037),—Vigrahapala III defeated Karna of Kalachuri. Ahavamalla's son Vikrama of Kalyan ( कर्णाट ) defeated him ( बिल्हन's विक्रमाङ्कचरित ) (1079-1125). Ramapala ( रामचरित of सन्ध्याकर नन्दी )—Mahipala II—Madanapala. Ramapala quelled a Kaivarta rebellion. (Anantavarma Chora-Ganga was king of Kalinga who founded the temple of Jagannath at Puri). Kumarapala, Gopala III. (12th cent.).

In the 12th century A. D. when Pal kings declined in power, Vijayasena a general of Chaulukya king became emperor of गौड़ and ruled up to the 13th cent. In this time Jatavarma became independent in *Eastern Bengal*.

After Sasanka's death, disorder prevailed in Gouda and Adisura established his superiority—his son was Bhusura. People set up Gopala, and Dharmapala defeated Bhusura and became king—(Bhusura fled and reigned in गङ्गाराष्ट्रदेश—राढ़देश—Pandua in Hughly was his capital—800 A. D.) Vigrahapala's time—people under भीम, a Kaibarta, rebelled and a काम्बोज king took from him the North Bengal. * Mahipala's time—

* "काम्बोजान्वयजेन गौड़पतिना तेनेन्दुमौलेरयं, प्रासादो निरमायि कुञ्जरघटावर्षेण (888 A.D.) भू-भूषणः ।" (Ind. Antiq., Vol I,P. 127).

Rajendra Chola conquered Bengal (at that time Bhusura's son, Ranasura was reigning in राढ़). After Chola's death, one Harivarmadeva established supremacy in Vikrampur. *North Banga* and Gauda remained at the hands of Pal kings. Bhavadevabhatta and Vachaspatimisra were court-Pandits of this Harivarma. During Harivarma's reign in राढ़देश there lived Samanta Sena—who came with Rajendra Chola to Bengal and began living near the Ganges. His son Hemanta Sen married a daughter of Sura dynasty. This Hemanta Sen, after the death of Harivarma, became supreme (poet Umapati described his career), 1068. His son Vijaya Sen ascended his father's throne and took whole Gauda from the Pal kings. Hiouen Tsang visited सिंहपुर (Haridwar near Himalayas) during 7th cent. and found वर्मा dynasty as Samanta kings of the king of Kashmere ; when the Chedi king conquered Bengal—Jatavarma of this dynasty joined him and married Karna's daughter Vilola-sri. Samalavarma was his son and established his capital at Vikramapura. Bhojavarma was the son of Samalavarma. Samalavarma married a daughter of a feudatory king of Konouj—grand daughter of Hariraj (Syodmi plate). Samala brought some Brahmins from Kanouj to perform a sacrifice (1079) when a vulture was found to sit upon his residence at Vikrampur. This is the origin of the story of five Brahmins being brought to Bengal. Hence Samalavarma= Adisura.

During Dharmapal's reign (end of the 8th cen.), a dynasty known as Pratihar dynasty ruled in Guzrat

and its kings tried to conquer Kanouj. Nagavat and his son Ramavadra did not succeed. Dharmapala's son Devapala consolidated his power over the country between काम्बोज and the विन्ध्य-mountains and from द्राविड़ to Guzrat. (अमोघवर्ष I of द्राविड़—राष्ट्रकूट and रामभद्र of Guzrat). In the middle of the 9th cen. Mihirabhoja took possession of Kanouj and established supremacy there which lasted for a long time. (known as वत्सराज महोदय गुर्जर dynasty of कान्यकुब्ज) मिहिरभोज,—country extended from सौराष्ट्र to the Punjab up to the हूण kingdom there and from the source of नर्मदा to गौड़ (Bengal). Magadha was conquered from the hands of the Pal dynasty in the reign of Narayanapala, Ramapal and Vigrahapala II (see Mahendra Pal of Guzrat's शिलालिपि).

Gurjara-Pratihara Dynasty.

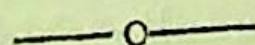
After the death of Mahendrapala a quarrel arose between his two sons for possession of the throne and the Pratihar dynasty declined in power. At this time Mahipala of Gauda drove the Konouj king and recovered Magadha and waged successful war with Rajendra Chol of Southern India. But the Chedi king Gangeyadeva and his son Karna snatched Benares and Tirhut during last days of Mahipala (11th Cen.) (see copperplate grant of कर्ण at Benares).

Bhaga dutta's dynasty was put to end by Salastambha, a म्लेच्छ king. The northern region of Kamrup was Sonmar. The Ahom king took possession of this land (13th cen.) and established a new Ahom dynasty by defeating the Nagas which extended over karnatic. The dynasty lived till the 16th cen.

when in Cooch Behar Naranarayan established a new line in 1552. Sankaradeva flourished in 1449 under king Susenakantha. Ahom king सुजामल (जयध्वजसिंह) and सुम्भ्रंग (रुद्रसिंह). The famous रुद्रसिंह ascended throne in 1695.

(4) Mahammad's successors fixed their capital at Bagdad in 750 A.D. and thence their power extended into Afghanistan. The Arabs never obtained more than a temporary footing in India. Under Khallif Wallid I., M. Kashim was sent into Sindh in 711, but Moslems were expelled in 750. About 950, the power of Arabs declined in Asia and Tartar Turks became Mahomedans and in Afghanistan, Sabaktagin usurped the government. His son Mahmud founded an empire at Ghazni in Afghanistan and made incursions into India in 1000 A.D. During the 13th cen. Mogol hordes overthrew Tartar tribes and these moguls under Babar founded the mogol dynasty.

(5) Last of all, the English have spread themselves over the whole country and become supreme.



# CHAPTER XI

## *FOREIGN CONTACT CHRONOLOGICALLY NOTICED*

(1) **Greeks**—326 B.C.

(2) **Chinese**—Buddhist missioneries reached China from India (3rd cen. B.C.) Buddhism became the state religion of China in 65 A.D. by the command of emperor Ming-ti. Fahien visited India (4th cen. A.D.) ; he found Java and Ceylone entirely peopled by the Hindus. Hoei Seng and Song Yun—518. Hiouen Tsang—629--645.

(3) **Mahomedans**—An Indian astronomer visited Khalif Almansur in 773 A.D.—an astronomical work translated under the name Sidhanta Sind-Hind. Prof. Ritter says that about the 8th cen. A.D. Hindu Physicians went to Bagdad and practised at the hospitals. Harunulraschid had in his court two Indians Manka and Saleh, Manka translated Susruta and Charaka treatise on poison. Harunulraschid also invited Hindu astrologers and thus they taught the Arabs. A treatise on Algebra translated by M. Musa from Sanskrit into Arabic (edited by F. Rose, 1831) Al-Biruni—(1000 A.D.)—translated *sankhya* and *yoga* into Arabic. A work on veterinary medicine, ascribed to Salotar (one 'Salihotra' is mentioned in *Panch tantra* as a teacher of veterinary medicine), was translated under orders of Feroz Sha after the capture of नागोर कोट (one 'Salotar' was teacher of सुश्रुत ).

**Akbar**—(1556-1605)—the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana*, *Amarakosh*, were translated, *Upanishad* by *Dara* and this translated into French in 1795 and from this European scholars derived their knowledge.

In **Auranzeb's** time Sanskrit works are known to Indian missioneries (18th cen).

(*a*) Rolur to de nobili went to India (1606) and learned Sanskrit in disguise.

(*b*) H. Roth learned Sankskrit at Agra.

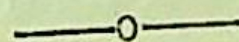
(c) Calmette the Pere Pons—drew up account of literary treasures of the Brahmans.

Asiatic Society was founded in 1784.

Sir William Jones, Wilkins and others.

Strabo records that Augustus received an embassy from king Pandyon of द्राविड़।

Proofs of intercourse cultivated and subsisted between the ancient Hindus and the Romans. Pliny says that in an embassy, the ambssador Ra clias went to Rome in the reign of Emperor Claudius Ceasar.



# CHAPTER XII

# A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF ANCIENT INDIAN DYNASTIES

—o—

## *KINGS OF MAGADHA.*

**Sisunaga Dynasty** (600 B.C.)

(Patna + Gaya District) :

Capital = Raja-griha (near Gaya)

(Girivraja was near Raja-griha)

|

Bimbisara

|

बिम्बिसार (5th from Sisunaga) He annexed अङ्ग modern Bhagalpur ; he took one wife from the Kosala king (capital श्रावस्ति) and the other from (Lichchavi) clan लिच्छवि at वैशाली (north of the Ganges—modern Tirhut.)

|

Ajatasatru (500 B.C.)

Udaya—his grandson founded the city of Puspapur or Pataliputra ( *Vayupurana* )—it became capital of India.

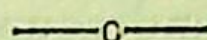
Ajatasatru—contemporary of Darius of Persian Empire (521—485 B.C.). Darius annexed the Indus valley, the whole of Sind and a portion of Punjab east of the Indus [Army of Xerexes had an Indian contin-

gent armed with cane bows and iron-tipped cane arrows. Indian troops used iron in 480 B.C.]

|
Darsaka (475 B.C.)
|
Udaya (450 B.C.)

In Bhasa's *Vasavadatta* written in the 3rd cent. A.D.,—Darsaka is mentioned as contemporary of Udayana, king of Vatsa (कौशाम्बी) and Mahasena, king of Avanti in Ujjaini. (Mahasena's son was Pradyota).

|
Nandivardhana = Nanda Dynasty.
|
Mahanandi
|
Maha-padma-nanda (372 B.C.)
and 9 kings.



**Maurya Dynasty.**

Chandragupta (322 B.C.)

*Mudra-Rakshasha*—Rapson—in J. R. A. S., 1900—believes that it dates from the 7th cent. A.D. Jacobi observes that certain M.S.S substitutes Avantivarma for Chandragupta and held it was performed before Avantivarma of Kashmere on December 2nd. 860. But Hillebrandt, Speyer, and Tawney affiirm it to be anterior to the earliest recension of *Panchatantra* and to Vartrihari who died in 651 A.D. The play may have been composed in the time of Chandragupta II about 400 A.D. (probably composed in the 5th cent. AD.).

Taxila—to N. W. of Rawalpindi—principal seat of

Hindu Learning in Northern India, specially in medical science—a university town.

After the death of Alexander, Seleukos became king of Syria and Lord of Western and Central Asia. He penetrated into the Gangetic valley but defeated by Chandragupta, retired and Kabul, Hirat, Kandahar were recieved by him.*

Indian armies comprised four arms :—Cavalry, Infantry, Elephants and Chariots. A commission of 30 members was divided into 6 Boards, each with 5 members :—Board no. I.—Admiralty ; Board no. II. —Transport-commissariat ;—drummers, grooms, mechanics, grasscutters. Board no. III.—Infantry. Board IV. : Cavalry ; Board V.—Chariots ; Board VI.—Elephants.

Pusyagupta was Chandragupta's governor of western provinces—formed Sudarsan Lake and an embankment was built. (It was destroyed by a storm and rebuilt by Asoka and then by satrap Rudradaman—then in Scandagupta's reign in 458 A.D.—(At Girnir).

Chanakya's (Indian Machiavelly) *Arthasastra*—Science of policy expounding the principles of state-craft.

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Bindusara (298 B.C.)

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* The first Indian Emperor more than two thousand years ago, entered into possession of the 'scientific frontier' sighed in vain by his English successors and never held in its entirety even by the Moghul monarchs of the 16th and 17th centuries—*Smith*. The military organisation of Chandragupta shows no trace of Hellenic influence. It is based upon the ancient Indian model and his vast host was merely a development of a considerable army maintained by the court of Magadh—*Smith*.

Ptolemy Philadelphos ruled in Egypt 285-247—dispatched Dionysios an envoy to Indian court.

|

Asoka (273)*

(1) Taxila—capital of N. W.-Viceroyalty including Kashmere, Punjab and provinces to the West of Indus. It was a university town.

(2) † Ujjain—seat of Viceregal Government of Western India (मालव, गुजराट, काटियार)

(3) Conquest of Kalinga—(from महानदी to गोदावरी)

Series of Edicts engraved on rocks. *Bairat* rock edict(Jaypur state). (Upagupta was Asoka's preceptor.)

7 Pillar Edicts. Built Srinagar in Kashmir and Lalit Patan in Nepal. His daughter Charumati = husband—Devapala. The Andhra kingdom between गोदावरी and कृष्णा was a protected state administered by its own Rajas.

Dhauli Edicts, south of Bhuvaneswara in Orissa. स्तूप or cupola at *Sanchi* in Central India, not very far from Ujjaini. Cave-dwelling at Barabar hills near Gaya. [काम्बोज applies to Tibet. Bhojas in Berar; Pulindas among Vindhya Hills near river नर्मदा] (Mahendra was a Asok'as brother. He spent his life in Ceylone).

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* Claims a place in the front rank of the great monarchs not only of India but of the world—becomes ruler of both church and state......like Charlemagne in Europe long afterwards.—*Smith*.

† Formed the head quarters of Indian Astronomy and longitudes were computed from its meridian—notable as the Indian Greenwich—*Smith*.

*N.B.* The descendants of Asoka retained possession only of Magadha and neighbouring home-provinces. In 272 B.C. one of the descendants Kharvela—Jaina king of Kalinga thew off the Mauryya yoke. The Andhra state grew into a powerful kingdom. The last king of Mauryya dynasty was Vrihatratha. Descendants of Asoka continued as local subordinate Rajas in Magadha for many centuries—the last of them being Purnavarma who was contemporary with Hiouen Tsang in the 7th Cent. A.D. Vrihatratha was slain by Pusyamitra, the commander-in-chief who founded a dynasty known as the Sunga dynasty.

———o———

## Sunga Dynasty.

### Pusyamitra (185 B.C.)

Menander (Greek king)—a relative of Bactrian monarch Eukratidos and king of Kabul and Punjab annexed Indus-Delta, Surashtra (Kathiawad), occupied Mathura and beseiged Madhyamika (near Chitore in Rajputana), invested Saketam and threatened Pataliputra. He was repulsed in 153 B.C. Crown prince (युवराज) was Agnimitra as viceroy who had his capital at Vidisa (on Betwa in Sindhia's territory). Agnimitra's son was Vasumitra. Pushpamitra celebrated horse-sacrifice and Rajasuya-sacrifice (consecration of a king) and it was witnessed by Patanjali (150—140 B.C.)

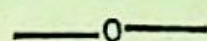
|
Agnimitra—149 B.C.
|
Vasujyestha—brother of do.
|
Vasumitra—son of do—Sumitra—another son.
|
Devahuti—the 10th king was slain by Vasudeva.

——o——

## Kanwa Dynasty (73 B.C.)

Vasudeva—Brahmin minister. The last (tenth) King Devabhuti of the Sunga Dynasty was slain by his minister Vasudeva who founded the Kanwa dynasty. (See Vana and Pergiter).

The last Kanwa king Susharman was slain by a king of the Andhra or Satavahan dynasty (27 B.C.)—which possessed widest dominions in the Deccan. This dynasty held Magadha as a dependency. Simuka or Sipraka was the first king of the Andhra line. The Andhra dynasty as an independent power began about 240 or 230 B.C., long before the suppression of the Kanwas and recognised suzerainty of the Mauryya kings (between the Godavari and the Krishna).



## Andhra Dynasty or Salivahan Dynasty

|

Satakarni ( 7th king ).

Was defied by Kharavela, king of Kalinga, 218 B.C. (surnamed महामेघवाहन).

|

Hala (17th king) is the author of *Sapta sataka.*

Some foreign tribes formed settlements in western India as **satraps** of Indo-Parthian and subsequently of the **Kushan** sovereigns.

Kshatrapa chief Nahapan (60—90 A. D) assumed Indian title of Raja. His dominions included Nasik,

11

Puna, Sourastra or Kathiwad. = **Kshaharat dynasty (1)**

|

Gautamiputra

He extirpated Kshaharat dynasty about 124 A. D.

|

वशिष्ठ पुत्र श्रीपुलमायी = Pulamayi (135 A.D.)

Married to a daughter of Rudradaman—satrap of Ujjain who defeated him and retook his territories. Rudradaman was the grand-son of Chashtana (under **कणिष्क). = Saka-satrap dynasty (2)**

|

Jajnasri (यज्ञश्री) last king. (173 A.D)

Fall of the Andhra kings coincides with the death of Vusudeva, the last of the Kushan kings of Northern India (226 A.D)

—o—

**Kaniksha** (78 to 178 **A.D.**) **belongs to the Kushan section** of the yueh-chi nation and succeeded Kadphises II and came to the throne in 78 A.D. and established power in Mathura, in Kashmere* and in Punjab and as far south as the Vindhya ranges.

Aswaghosa lived in the 2nd cent. A.D. in Kanishka's reign—pupil of Parswa. His capital was Puruspur or Peshwar. He built a tower of 13 stories and a monastery. (It was visited even in the 9th cent. A,D. by Viradeva, a Buddhist and Scholar who was appointed abbot of Nalanda in the reign of Devapala of Magadha (844-92).

* The village of kanishpor in Kashmere

A council (third council) was held in which—Vasumitra was elected President and Aswaghosha Vice-President.

|

Hubiksha

(Kabul, Kashmir and Mathura)

|

Vasudeva I (100 A.D.)

Andhra and Kushan dynasties disappear together (226 A.D.).

(And *sassanian* dynasty of *Persia* became powerful). But the Kushan kings of Kabul feebly continued as a power until the 5th cent. when they were overthrown by white Huns.

—o—

## Gupta Dynasty (320 A.D.)*

Of Pataliputra = Magadha. Chandragupta I, Married to Kumardevi of Lichhavi clan.

|

Samudragupta (330 or 335 A.D.)

(Warrior, poet and musician) (Indian Napolean).

His court-poet Harisena composed a panegyric of his conquest and engraved on one of stone pillars and incised with Asoka's Edicts. It stands at Allahabad fort.

[समतट = Delta of the गङ्गा and the ब्रह्मपुत्र including Calcutta ; Davaka corresponding with Bogra, Dinajpur and Rajshahi Districts. Meghavarna was king of

* The Gupta period is worthy of comparison with the Elizabethan and Stewart period in England. It was a time of exceptional intellectual activities in many fields.

Ceylone (352-379). He extended his royal favour to Vasubandhu the Buddhist author. His queen was Duttadevi. Vasubandhu (280 to 360),—his elder brother was Asanga (असङ्ग)। Vasubandhu's work translated into Chinese in 404 A.D. Dinnaga—5th cen. [Chandravarma, king of Rajputana—reigned in 4th cen. A.D. at Pushkarana, Harivarma in 412.]

Chandragupta Vikramaditya II (375 A.D.)

He subjugated *Saurashtra* or Kathiwad which had been ruled for centuries by the Saka dynasty as western satraps—Incorporated the territory held by the Malavas. These annexations placed him in touch with commerce with Europe through Egypt,

[The 'western satraps' comprise two dynasties. The Kshaharat satraps of महाराष्ट्र with capital at Nasik. (Its power destroyed by गौतमीपुत्र in 126 A.D.)—The second, founded by Chashtana at Ujjayin in Malwa. Power of रुद्रदामन was established over Saurashtra and also over Malwa, Kutch, Sind, Konkon—capital was Ujjayin].

Besides Pataliputra, Ayodhya (श्रावस्ती) was his headquarters and had a mint of copper coins there. He resided at कौशाम्बी also (on a high road between Ujjain and North India). Fahien visited India.

Kumaragupta I (Mother Dhruvadevi)—413 A.D. Horse sacrifice celebrated. Kalidas wrote in the 5th century late in the reign of Chandragupta II or early in the reign of Kumaragupta II. He may have continued writing after the accession of Skandagupta. *Mudra Rakshasha* in the reign of Chandragupta II (400 A.D.—Prof : Hillebrandt). *Mrichhakatika*—5 th cent, if

not earlier. Vayupurana—4th cent. and Laws of Manu —in the beginning of the Gupta period. Aryyabhatta born in 476 and Varahamihira died in 587 A.D.

|

Skandagupta-Vikramaditya—455 A.D.

The Huns poured out—were completely defeated 458 and the Hun invasion renewed in 465 A.D.

|

Puragupta (प्रकाशादित्य) 480 A.D. (Mother—Ananda.)

|

Narasinhagupta बालादित्य। 485 A.D.

He built a building 300 feet high at Nalanda in मगध in South Behar.

|

Kumaragupta II (535).

The line of the imperial Guptas terminates. Their dominions were restricted to the Eastern Provinces merely—local rulers of मगध only. (मौखरी वर्म्मन kings shared with the Gupta kings different kingdoms).

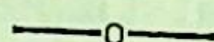
[The most notable member of later Gupta dynasty was Adityasena asserted his independence after हर्ष's death in 647. Jivitagupta was the last known Raja in 8th cent. of this dynasty.]

(In the Province of Malwa, we find records of Rajas Budhagupta and Bhanugupta (484-510) as heirs of Skandagupta). (परमार्थ Paramartha went to China)

White Huns assailed the Kushan kingdoms of Kabul and poured into India. The leader of the invasion was Toraman and was established in Malwa prior to 500. Bhanugupta and Valabhi kings were his tributaries. Mihirgula was Toraman's son. Narasinhagupta Valaditya, aided by Jasodharman, a Raja of Central

India defeated Mihirgula in 528 who fled and took refuge in Kashmere. Hiouen Tsang gives sole credit of victory to Valaditya. But Jasodharman erected two columns and took the honour to himself. (यशोधर्मन must have been a feudatory of वालादित्य)। यशोवर्मन probably founded मालव Empire about 535 and reigned up to 583 A.D.—[Hoernle says that यशोवर्मन's son was शिलादित्य who was dethroned by his enemies (probably 593) and replaced by the aid of प्रवरसेन II of Kashmere before 604 A.D. But this theory is erroneous].

(In the 6th cen. the Turks arrived and made alliance with Khushru Anushirvan—king of Persia and destroyed the White Huns.)



## Valabhi Dynasty (490-770)

भट्टारक-मैत्रक (Maitraka)—

Established himself at वलभी in the east of Saura'stra (Kathiwad) and founded a Dynasty lasting until 770 when it was overthrown by Arabs from Sind. Hiuon Tsang visited the city in 7th Cent. गुणमति and स्थिरमति—Buddhist scholars resided here in 6th cent.

वलभी and Mo-la-po (western मालव) were politically one, *both* being under ध्रुवभट् the son-in-law of हर्ष। Thus the fragments of Gupta empire were thus apportioned among various Dynasties. This Molapo

had 3 dependencies-Cutch, Saurashtra and Anandapura. ध्रुवभट governed not only वलभी, but also Mo-la-po and its dependencies—under paramount sovereign हर्ष of Konouj. शिलादित्य was ध्रुवभट 's uncle 60 years before him (according to Hiuen-Tsang). Sylvain Levi identifies this monarch with शिलादित्य I, surnamed धर्मादित्य of वलभि-Dynasty who reigned from 595 to 610—the inference is that शिलादित्य must have been king of Mo-la-po by conquest, in addition to his ancestral realm of वलभी। (This molapo was not identical with उज्जयिनी which was ruled by a ब्राह्मण-Raja at this time).

Paramartha wrote between 546 and 569, a life of वसुबन्धु। He states that king विक्रमादित्य of अयोध्या was induced by वसुबन्धु to take an interest in Buddhism and to send his queen with the crown prince बालादित्य to study under the famous teacher. When बालादित्य became king, he invited वसुबन्धु to अयोध्या where he died, aged 80, वसुरात, a Brah. grammarian was married to king बालादित्य's sister. Hiuon-Tsang also describes one विक्रमादित्य of श्रावस्ति who lost his kingdom temporarily. All Gupta kings held श्रावस्ति and अयोध्या and पाटलिपुत्र as well.

——o——

## Kanouj Kings.

प्रभाकरवर्द्धन or प्रतापशील of थानेश्वर। Mother's name महासेनगुप्ता.
His queen was यशोमती

राज्यश्री = m. | राज्यवर्द्धन 605. | हर्षवर्द्धन 606.

राज्यवर्द्धन 605. Slain by शशाङ्क of Central Bengal, of कर्णसुवर्ण 12 miles from मुरशिदाबाद (Probably a scion of Gupta dynasty)

राज्यश्री = m. ग्रहवर्म्मा मौखरी (Son of अवन्तीवर्म्मा) might be lord of कनौज)

A king of Malava (मालव) slew ग्रहवर्म्मा and imprisoned राज्यश्री (sister of हर्ष).

Hiuen-Tsang visited India (641). ध्रुवभट्ट of वलभी was deputed by हर्ष and he became a vassal king and married his daughter (ध्रुवभट्ट's uncle was शिलादित्य धर्म्मादित्य). He discarded the 4th arm of a regularly organised Indian host (chariot). He could put in field 100,000 cavalry and 60,000 Elephants.

हर्ष retired discomfited by पुलकेशी II of चौलक्य dynasty, 620.

His omposition—नागानन्द, रत्नावली, प्रियदर्शिका। बाणभट्ट was his court-poet. The बोधि tree destroyed by शशाङ्क was replaced by पूर्णवर्म्मा, Raja of मगध in 600—(last descendant of अशोक)। Kumar भास्करवर्म्मा king of कामरूप was his ally. हर्ष died in 646.

—o—

## Sind Dynasty

Of this, Beluchistan was a dependency. A Sudra king reigned in 7th cent.

Sihras Rai, son of Diwaji. Sahasi—Son of Sihras who was slain in a battle with the Arabs. Sahasi was Succeeded by his ब्राह्मण मन्त्री 'Chach'. Sind invaded by Mahamud, son of Kasim who defeated Dahir—son of Chach, 712.

——o——

## Gurjata-Pratihara Kings

*With Bhilmal as capital in Rajputana.*

They conquered Konouj in time and became paramount power in Northern India.

चक्रायुध (placed on throne by धर्मपाल ।
(But was dethroned by नागभट्ट, Gurjara-Pratihara king of Rajputana).

नागभट्ट transferred his govt. to Konouj.
|
रामभद्र 825.
|
मिहिरभोज 840 (आदिवराह)—Saurastra or Kathiwad, also Gujrat and Malva.
|
महेन्द्रपाल ( held whole North India from border of मगध to Arabian Sea.
|
राजशेखर—was his teacher.

This राजशेखर in his काव्यमीमांसा mentions one भास as the author of प्रियदर्शिका, रत्नावली, नागानन्द, उदात्त-राघव and स्वप्नवासवदत्ता and says that he was a धावक (washerman) and was made court-poet of हर्षविक्रम, (It is a mistake perhaps)

|
महीपाल 910 (Its power waned)

(क्षेमीश्वर wrote his drama चण्डकौशिक (story of king हरिश्चन्द्र and विश्वामित्र)। He wrote another drama नैषधानन्द in 7 Acts.
—Keith.

|
देवपाल 940
|
विजयपाल 955
|
राज्यपाल

Mahmud of Guzni defeated राज्यपाल who was succeeded by त्रिलोचनपाल। Soon after this Kanouj was conquered by चन्द्रदेव, a King of Gharwar Clan.

——o——

**Paramar Dynasty** of

Malwa (उज्जयिनी) अवन्ति. (Eastern मालव)
कृष्णराज 820
|
मुञ्ज 924 (7th king).
or ( वाक्पति—अमोघवर्ष—उत्पलराज )

धनञ्जय and धनिक lived in his court. पद्मगुप्त of नवसाहसाङ्क चरित। हलायुध commented on पिङ्गल's छन्दः सूत्र।
* executed by Taila 995.
|
भोज (Nephew) 1018 (धारा)

* Merutunga in his *Praboudha Chintamoni* describes मुञ्ज as versifying when he was captive.

Munja's nephew Bhojadeva composed Saraswati *Kanttavarana*. Sobhanamuni, a jain, author of शोभनस्तुतयः। Amitagati—author of सुभाषित सन्दोह in 993 A.D.

(भोजपुर—lake in भूपाल)
|
सिन्धुराज 995
|
अर्ज्जुनवर्म्मा 13th cent.—
Wrote a commentary on अमरुशतक।
At this time जयपाल was king of Indus, Punjab, North of Sindh—Capital भातिण्डा।

---

Konouj conquered and occupied by a king of **Gharwar clan** (Rathore राठोर) **dynasty.**

Chandradeva (1090 A.D.) (swaying
| Benares and Oudh and Delhi)
Govindachandra (1104 A,D.)
|
Jayachandra (Whose daughter carried off by Prithwiraj of Ajmere)

An inscription of Jayachandra is dated in संवत् 1233; Buhler referred to the composition of Sriharsha's *Naisadhacharita* between 1167 and 1174 A.D. Gadadhara, a commentator makes Sriharsha a protgee of Govindachandra of Benares. Mankha informs us that a king of Konouj named Govindachandra sent an ambassador to king Jayashingha of Kashmere. Benares and Konouj may have been capitals of the king (Mankha—author of Sricanthacharita—pupil of Ruyyuka (of Alankarasadhak) whose elder brother.

—o—

## Kashmir Dynasty.

मातृगुप्त (2nd cent. A.D.) Placed on the throne by हर्षविक्रम of उज्जयिनी (कल्हन makes him contemporary of प्रतापादित्य of Kashmere (राजतरङ्गिनी)

दुर्लभवर्द्धन. (527 Saka.)

दुर्लभाच (or प्रतापादित्य) 556 A,D.

चन्द्रापीड़ 720. — मुक्तापीड़ or ललितादित्य।

He defeated यशोवर्म्मन्, king of Konouj 740.

जयापीड़ or विनयादित्य। 751)

He defeated and dethroned वज्रायुध, king of Konouj.— He visited पौण्ड्रवर्द्धन in Bengal, the modern राजसाही District, of which the then king was जयन्त or आदिशूर. This जयापीड़ or जयादित्य composed काशिकावृत्ति of पानिनि with the help of his minister वामन। (He married कल्याणदेवी—daughter of जयन्त of गौड़)। (क्षीरस्वामी, उद्भटभट्ट, वामन—adorned his court)

[आदिशूर was mentioned in आइनआकबरी, मूताचरीण (राजतरङ्गिणी)]

अवन्तिवर्म्मा (853—883).

शङ्करवर्म्मा (883),

His minister Lalliya founded—

Hindu Shahiya kingdom

Didda (grand-daughter) 950,

संग्राम (her nephew)

Mah. of Guzni attacked 1003,

—o—

## Pala and Sena Dynasties of Bengal and Bihar.

Gopala (730-40)

Was elected king of Bengal suffering from anarchy. The monastery of *Odantapuri* was founded by him at Bihar.

|

Dharmapala (810)

Dethroned इन्द्रायुध of Kanouj (capital of पञ्चालदेश) and installed चक्रायुध in 800 A.D. The monastery of *Vikramasila* which included 6 colleges and 107 temples was founded by him in the Bhagulpur district.

|

*Devapala (820-860)

His general was famous लाउसेन who conquered Assam and Kalinga. धीमान् and विटपाल were two artists, acquired highest fame as painters, sculptors and bronze-founders. [Viradeva was appointed by Devapala as Abbot of Nalanda].

|

Vigrahapala I—Narayanapala (Gurzara king भोज I defeated Narayanapala. Gurava Misra was his minister). Some hill-men—Kambojas—came and Pala-king was dethroned, setting up their chief as king.His rule is commemorated by an inscribed pillar at Dinajpur erected in 888 (कुञ्जरघटा-वर्षेण—quoted at p. 130 of this book) = 966 A.D. if it be saka-era.

|

Mahipala I. (960 A.D.)
(nineth sovereign)

Expelled the Kambojas and won back his

---

* During Devapala's-last days. *Khadga*, dynasty established in Banga—Jata Khadga—Deva Khadga (9th cent.). Then came *Chandra* dynasty. Suvarna Chandra—Purna Chandra—Srichandra —Capital Vikrampur. Govinda Chandra was contemporary of Mahipala I.

ancestral throne about 960 : Songs in his honour used to be sung in many parts of Bengal until recent times and still to be heard in remote corners of Cooch-Behar and Orissa. He was attacked by Chol-king Gangeyadeva ( father of कर्णदेव) of Kalachuri in 1020.

(क्षेमीश्वर's चण्डकौशिक was composed acc, to R. K. Banerjee.

|

Nayapala (1025)

A mission was despatched to Tibet in 1042 headed by अतिश from Vikramsila monastery. Pala kings of the time were devoted to तान्त्रिक-forms of Buddhisms. Chola-king कर्णदेव attaked गौड़, But he was defeated by कीर्त्तिवर्म्मा (Drama प्रबोधचन्द्रोदय was composed in this कीर्त्तिवर्म्मा's reign. दीपङ्कर श्रीज्ञान lived in his time at नालन्दा,

|

Vigrahapala III

Succeeded by his son Mahipal II who misgoverned which provoked a rebellion headed by Divyaka, chief of Chasi-Kaivarta tribe—his nephew Bhima (भीम) became king of Varendra. At this time Choraganga the Kalinga-king (1076) was powerful. सामन्तदेव was his officer and his son Hemantasena founded a principality at Kashipuri, now Kashiari in मयूरभञ्ज's state.

|

Ramapala

महीपाल's brother—who escaped from imprisonment by his brother, travelled over large part of India to obtain help and he thus collected a strong force and regained the throne of his forefathers, killing Bhima.

सन्ध्याकर नन्दी composed रामचरित। University-town *Jagaddala* created.

|

Kumarapala

Conquered Assam or Kamarupa and conferred its Government to Vaidya-Deva, his valiant minister.

—o—

## Sena Kings.

Samanta Sena's grandson—Vijaya Sena, (1119-58), —became independent sovereign early in 1119 A.D. and wrested from Palas a large part of the Bengal Province and established Sena dynasty firmly.

|

Vallalasena

Organised caste system and introduced '*Kulinism*' among Brahmins, Vaidyas and Kayasthas, founded गौड़ or लक्ष्मणावती। The site of a palace is also pointed out at रामपाल near Vikramapur.

|

Lakshmanasena

Muhammadan invasion under Kutub-uddin's general —Muhammad, the son of Bakhtyar surprised Nadia and stormed Bihar (1199). Many Buddhist monks who escaped death, fled to Tibet, Nepal and Southern India. "No one, great or small, ever suffered injustice at Lakshanasena's hands and his generality was proverbial". His court was adorned by 'five gems' in imitation of nine gems of विक्रमादित्य (vide p. 78 of this book). धोयी—his court-poet imitated कालिदास's मेघदूत and the famous poet जयदेव wrote his Gita-govinda.

Sridharadas, a son of one of his officers was the author of सदुक्तिकर्णामृत.

Three copper-plate grants in the names of Madhava-Sen, Viswarupa-Sen and Keshava Sen, three sons of *Lakshana-Sen* have been discovered and this shows that they were in possession of गौड़ between 1170—1200. They still reigned at Vikramapur till 1200 A.D.

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# APPENDIX A

## A Brief History of Vedic Literature

### VEDIC PERIOD

### I

### *THREE VEDAS*

The Veda is regarded by the Hindus to have been issued from the Absolute like breath, and communicated to the inspired sages or *Risis*. We have here the theory of inspiration and this divine *unwritten* knowledge is bound up with शब्द or 'articulate sound', which was finally written down.

We may separate the Veda into three distinct divisions :—(1) *Mantra* or prayers embodied in metrical hymns. (2) *Brahmans* or ritualistic precepts and illustrations written in prose. (3) *Aranyakas* and *Upanishad* or the secret doctrine, some appended to the *Brahmanas* and some independent, in prose and occasional verses.

There are *five* principal संहिताs or collection of Mantras or hymns, called respectively—

*Rik*, *Atharvan*, *Saman*, 2 *Yajus* (Black or *Taittiriya* and White or *Vajasaneyin*).

**The Rig-veda-samhita**—contains one thousand and twenty-eight hymns. **The Sama-veda**—is really a mere reproduction of parts of the *Rik* scattered about, only 78 verses in the whole of the Sama-veda being untraceable to the present recension of the

*Rik*. The greatest number of its verses are taken from the nineth Mandala of the *Rik* in praise of the *Soma* used by the उद्गातृ priests, as the Yajus is for the sacrifices by the अध्वर्यु priests.

### Vedic Gods—

God's power was exhibited in the forces of nature and these forces were looked upon by our Aryan forefathers in their Asiatic home as actual manifestations, either of one Deity in different moods or of separate deities contending for supremacy. These mighty agencies were poetically personified and afterwards worshipped as distinct gods. "It is probable that there existed for the first Aryan worshippers a simpler and thiestic creed, who looked to the conception of one divine self-existing being—one all-pervading spirit—into whose *unity* all visible *symbols* are gathered and in whose essence all other entities are comprehended." Only a few of the hymns contain the conception of one Divine Self-existent Omnipresent Being and this unity soon diversified into various ramifications. In the *Purusha-Sukta* (Rig-Veda, X. 90), the one spirit is called पुरुष। In the latter systems its name is *Brahman*—from root 'बृह्' to expand, denoting universally diffused substance of the universe. All the other innumerable gods being mere manifestations of the neuter ब्रह्म who alone is Eternal which, when it passes into actual manifested existence, is called ब्रह्मा and when it develops itself in the world is विष्णु, and when it again dissolves itself into simple being, is called शिव। This is the genuine pantheistic creed of India. It

was wonderfully defined in the time of Manu.—"Him some adore as transcendentally present in fire; others in Manu, Lord of creatures: some as more distinctly present in Indra: others in pure air: others as the most high eternal spirit. The man who thus perceives in his own soul, the Supreme Soul present in all creatures, acquires equanimity towards them all, and shall be absorbed at last in the highest essence" ( मनु, XII, 123-125 ).

It must be borne in mind that the deified forces addressed by the *Risis* in the hymns were perhaps not represented by images or idols in the Vedic period, though they were clothed with human form in their imaginations.

## II

## *GEOGRAPHICAL AND CULTURAL CONDITION DURING THE RIG-VEDIC TIME*

The river Ganges is hardly mentioned: Even the lotus-flower so common in Indian poetry is not yet a subject for metaphor. Fig-tree (न्यग्रोध)is missing in the Rig-Veda: The tiger (whose home is Bengal) and even rice is not mentioned in the hymns. The chief source of income is cattle-rearing, and the chief cattle is bullock; horse is much valued. Milk and butter are chief articles of food (slaughtering of bullocks and eating of flesh at sacrifices); skin of oxen is worked up for strings of bows and leather bottles. Carpenter, carriage-builder,

cabinet and chariot-maker are mentioned and also metal-workers. Ships were in the first beginning—canoes with oars. Gold ornaments and extensive trade carried on. The position of women is very high :—shared in sacrifices, joined philosophical disputations (in the *Upanishadas*).

But we hear also in the hymns—incest, seduction, conjugal unfaithfulness, theft, robbery, abortions. "These do not go against the antiquity of the Veda ; the Ethnologists know endless gradations of the widely differing cultural conditions leading from primitive people right up to the civilised nations." We do not find in Rigveda, effiminate, pessimistic trait of Indian character of the later Indian literature.

## III

## *ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE VEDAS*

यास्क—prior to Panini—depends on etymology in his explanation of difficult words, following निघण्टु or 'glossaries' of rare and obscure words.

Some scholars entirely follow Indian commentary as it rested on tradition. (H. H. Wilson). Others did not care for native interpretation, holding that with their philological criticism and resources of linguistic Science they could understand Veda better—(Roth : Grassmann).

Some hold that we must not indeed blindly follow Indian interpreters, but yet as they draw upon un-

interrupted tradition, they should not be disregarded for right meaning.

Important question they raised—if the hymns were to be regarded as spontaneous outpourings of heart, or did they arise for using them by priests for sacrifices ?

Winternitz's view lies midway. He sees in the hymns mythology *in the making*. First of all, the glowing dawn, roaring storms—all these *natural phenomena* were invoked, glorified, worshipped. Only gradually these natural phenomena were transformed into Gods—mythologial figures. The सवित्र (inspirer), विवस्वत् (shining)—were at first epithets, then names of the sun ; finally they became independent sun-gods. Thus the majority of Vedic Gods has proceeded from natural phenomena.

Hymns addressed to वरुण and इन्द्र show that Vedic poets are not lacking in "pathos, vigour, raciness and touching the simple, warm, heartfelt tone" (Winternitz)—as hymns to अग्नि show. Hymns to सूर्या, पर्ज्जन्य, मरुत, उषा—appeal to us through their fine comprehension of beauties of nature, as through their flowery language and in magnificent metaphors—all these are worthy of being valued as works of poetic art."

## IV

## *REASON WHY MANDALA X OF THE RIG-VEDA IS OF RECENT ORIGIN*

### Mythological—

(*a*) Some of the earliest Gods disappeared, and some most popular Gods retained : Goddess Dawn disappeared, इन्द्र and अग्नि maintained. Group of विश्वेदेवाs has become prominent.

(*b*) Some abstract ideas, such as 'wrath' ( मन्यु ), 'faith' ( श्रद्धा )—appears for the first time.

(*c*) Cosmogony hymns, philosophical speculations, wedding and funeral rites, spells and incantations—not found in earlier parts are found here.

### Linguistic—

(*a*) Vowel contractions more frequent here.

(*b*) Letter *L* for *R* is on the increase.

(*c*) Noun-plural in आस: is on the decline.

(*d*) Word 'सिम' found only *once*. New words—म् काम, लक्ष्मी, एवम्—are to be met with only here.

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संहिता-texts of Rig-veda came into existence after the completion of the ब्राह्मणs. Then afterwards the texts were extraordinarily guarded against the possibility of change or loss. The first step is the constitution of the पद-text *i.e.*, analysis of the संहिता —thus the संहिता-text is restored to its older stage ; for it is known to शाकल्य—the author of ऐतरेय आरण्यक। [Thus what was formerly pronounced *Tu am hi agne*

( तु अम् हि अग्ने ), now appears *Tvam hy agne* (त्वम् ह्यग्ने)। Thus in संहिता-text, Euphonic combinations are introduced and hence reading according to latter, the older text can be restored.] Thus the संहिता-text finally fixed the form of the Rigveda.

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A few references to death and future life are found in the hymns of Rig-veda. The soul is thought to be separable from the body, not only after death but even during unconsciousness (X, 58). There is however no indication of the *Transmigration* of souls. But one passage in Rigveda in which the soul is spoken of as departing to the waters or the plants contains germs of this theory : Here are the lines—

"The sun receive thine eye, the wind thy spirit ;
Go as thy merit is, to earth or heaven.
Go, if it be thy lot, unto the waters, so make thine home
in plants with all thy members."

(addressed to अग्नि when a corpse is laid on the funeral pile and the fire is lighted) (X, 16, 1-6).

There are also verses referring to the *burial* of a corpse—X, 18, 10-13.

Rig-veda—consists of a collection of 1028 hymns (suktas) which are divided into 10 Mandals. "Majority of the *oldest* hymns are to be found in Books II to VII."

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## V

## *CHARACTERISTIC FEATURE OF VEDIC PRAYERS AND OF SOME IMPORTANT VEDIC GODS*

Winternitz holds the view that authors of the Vedic hymns "rise but seldom to the deep fervour of the religious poetry of the Hebrews. They do not look up to the God whom they honour in song with that "shuddering awe and that faith firm as a rock with which the Psalmist looks up to Jehovah". "The prayers do not rise from the inmost soul." The Vedic poets stand on a familiar footing with the God. They expect him to present them with wealth in cows and sons and they are not afraid to tell him this.

"But amongst the loftiest and most inspired poems are indisputably the songs to Varuna. Varuna stands nobly elevated above mortals whom the poet ventures to approach with trembling and fear and in humble reverence. Varuna it is who concerns himself with the *moral* ways of men and punishes the sinners. Contritely the poet approaches him and pleads for forgiveness of his sins. These hymns lend themselves to a certain extent to comparison with the poetry of the psalms". (Winternitz)

*Indra* may be regarded as the actual *national* God of the Vedic Indians. Indra is thoroughly a warlike God. His enormous strength and combativeness are described again and again. The battle of Indra with वृत्र is celebrated in numerous songs. वृत्र keeps waters imprisoned in mountains : Indra wants to release the waters. Heaven and earth tremble when Indra slays

ब्व : Interpreters tell us that Indra is a God of thunder-storm and mountains in which waters are enclosed are clouds. But in the opinion of Winternitz Indra's demon-fights are only a copy of the battles which the Aryan immigrants had to fight. In strength and vigour none can approach Indra.

*Agni*—is the God of the house-holder who protects his wife, children and makes his homestead prosper. Agni is the husband of the maidens and that the bridegroom receives the bride from Agni. Agni is the messenger between Gods and mortals.

*Usha*—"Some pearls of lyric poetry which appeal to us through their fine comprehension of the beauties of nature as through their flowery language are to be found among the songs to the sun, पर्जन्य, मरुत्s and above all to उषा (the dawn)." "Gleaming she approaches like a maiden decked by her mother who is proud of her body. She puts on splendid garment, like a dancer, and reveals her bosom to the mortals. Clothed in light the maiden appears and unveils her charms. She opens the gates and radiant steps forth out of them."

Verses may be composed for *ritual* and yet be of great *poetic beauty*—is proved by some of Funeral songs. With these may be compared the Suryya-Sukta recited even now at the various stages of *marriage ceremony*.

There are a dozen *philosophical* hymns in the Rig-Veda in which the universal soul's identity with the world is foreshadowed. In hymn to Prajapati (X 121), there lies hidden the thought that in reality there is nothing in all the *plurality* of the Gods and that alone—

the *one* and the only God—the creator Prajapati—who deserves honour. There is the profound poem of the (X 129)—"तमश्रासीत् तमसा गूढ़ मग्रे" etc.

"The one" arose and this one is already an intellectual being and as the first product of his mind, as the poet says, came forth काम "sexual desire," "the will" as Schopenhaur and Deussen assume. (But as sexual desire leads to the birth of beings, so the poets consider 'sexual desire' (काम) as the *primal source* of all existence). Thus already in the hymns the great idea of Universal Unity is foreshadowed,—that all plurality is only imaginary.

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*Verses showing the Polytheism of the Rishis had received a monotheistic tinge* :—

Agni in the eyes of the priests devoted to fire-cult, aroused mystical speculations on its nature, on his many manifestations as fires on earth, on his other aspects as atomspheric fire in lightning, as celestial fire in the sun : these would suggest the idea that various deities are *but different forms of a single* divine being. This idea is found in more than one passage in the hymns of the Rig-veda. Thus in 164 hymns of 1st Mandal we find—"The one being priests speak of in many ways ; they call it Agni, Yama, Matariswan." Similarly,—"Priest and poets with words make into many the bird which is but one," The goddess अदिति is identified with all the deities, with men, with all that has been and shall be born, with air and heaven (1. 89). In a

Cosmogonic hymn, the creater is not only described as one God above all Gods, but is said to *embrace all things*." Such Pantheistic thoughts, observes Macdonell, assumed its final shape in the Vedanta philosophy.

*Creator and creation* : Conception of a creator distinct from and superior to all the Gods. Creation is conceived, says Macdonell, "as an act of *natural* generation from some original *material*. (*a*) Body of पुरुष—its parts become portions of the universe : His head becomes the sky, his feet the earth, from his eyes the sun, from his breath the word etc. The idea is the पुरुष *sacrificed* himself in order that the world may grow : It is a sort of यज्ञ।—Creator is *identified* with the universe—says Macdonell. But पुरुष is described—as lying *beyond* the universe—only ¼th of his body is this universe : Cf. the description of Visnu—"त्रिपादस्यामृतं दिवि"—and पुरुषसूक्त—"पादोऽस्येहाभवत् पुनः"। These show the idea of Transcendence of God with the idea of his immanence as well—was well known to the Risis. We can not say it is the idea of identification of creator with his created universe. (*b*) Sometimes "water" was regarded as the material—the first germ of things. "Waters produced अग्नि regarded as bearing the germ of all life (हिरण्यगर्भ—gives us this idea). (c) In a hymn, "out of non-existent (असत्), this existent (सत्) world came out". Here too non-existent became existent, of which the first form is the waters ; on these floats हिरण्यगर्भ। To the view of Macdonell, this is "mixing up of the theory of creation with that of evolution and there is also contradiction due to it.

But we do not think there is any contradiction in these descriptions of creation.

## VI

**Atharva Veda**—Words अथर्व्व and अङ्गिरस—denote 2 different species of magic formulas : अथर्व्व is holy magic, bringing happiness, healing diseases. अङ्गिरस means black or hostile magic, and curses against enemies, rivals : All these form the contents of the अथर्व्व वेद। It is a collection of 731 hymns which contain about 6000 verses in the recension last preserved. It is divided into 20 books, of which the 20th book is entirely from the Rig-veda.

अथर्व्व—*later than Rigveda*—

Geographical and cultural conditions prove this. Aryans have now settled in Ganges country : Tiger is now known. Tiger-skin—a symbol of kingly power. Old charms and formulas which are *popular* and most ancient were now *brahmanised* and have lost their popular character. The Vedic Gods also were now used and invoked as demon-killers and thus have lost their characters as natural beings. Even the philosophical hymns are used for magic purposes. The priests who were friendly with Gods, renounce the magicians who were supposed to be in league with demons. Hence sorcery, magic were declared as a sin and they were looked down upon. Thus अथर्व्व वेद came to be looked upon with unsacredness and as unholy. This was the cause of non-mention of अथर्व्व वेद in त्रयी ; *it does not show late origin however.* Dark,

demonical powers that bring misfortunes and deseases on mankind and ghostly beings against whom the wizard hurls curses—many of these magic songs spread over the whole earth ; hence these were as old as Rig-Vedic hymns. अथर्व contains spells for healing of deseases also : They are addressed to deseases themselves fancied as personal beings, as demons, considered to be creators of deseases. Curative herbs are also invoked as cures, prayers to water and fire—as scarers of demons. Name of fever is Takman ; and charms are addressed to it. There are also beliefs in गन्धर्वs and अप्सरस—spirits of river, forest, trees—who entice mankind to injure them by co-habitation. Plant अजाशृङ्गी was used for driving these. In connection with these there were benedictions (पौष्टिकानि) by which farmer, shepherd, merchants hope to gain success against wild animals, robbers, prayers for good-fortune in journeys, against Snake & So on. In the कौषीतकी सूत्र we find (स्त्रीकर्माणि)—love-magics were employed—youngman by these tries to get a bride ; maiden a bridegroom etc. Curses also referring to intrigues and disturbances of married life. An effigy is made and heated arrow is hurled, while reciting songs. A magnificent hymn to Varuna in a psalm language, celebrating almighty power and omniscience of the God and a vigorous formula against liars and libellers. Along with these formulas and incantations, many a deep and truly *philosophical* ideas flash forth in some hymns of अथर्व वेद ।.

**Sama-Veda**—only 3 शाखाs—कौथुम, जैमिनीय and राणायणीय have come down to us. कौथुमी शाखा consists of 2

parts—the आर्चिक or the verse collection and the उत्तरार्चिक, the 2nd verse collection. The purpose of both parts is that of teaching of melodies. The आर्चिक consists of 585 single stanzas. उत्तरार्चिक consists of 400 chants of 3 stanzas each, out of which स्तोत्रs which are sung are formed. Verse is sung to a certain tune or melody. One melody can be used for different stanzas.

The उत्तरार्चिक is subdivided into गेय, अरण्य and ऊह or ऊह्य। Of later origin are the गानs which designate the melodies by means of musical notes in which texts are drawn up with all the extensions of syllables, repetetions, interpolation of whole words—the स्तोभs, as हौइ, हुव, हौवौ and so on. More frequent is the designation of 7 notes by means of figures 1, 2, 3...7. When singing, they *emphasise* these notes by movements of hands. There are attached to आर्चिकs—the ग्राम-गेय and अरण्य-गेय Gana. There are also 2 other books of songs—ऊहगान and ऊह्य-गान। Various सामs were employed also for magic purposes (hence the lawbooks teach that recitations of ऋक् and यजुः are interrupted when साम-sound is heard).

**Yajurveda**—we have five schools—

काठक recension. कपिष्ठल कठ संहिता। मैत्रायणी संहिता। तैत्तिरीय संहिता or आपस्तम्ब संहिता।—These are all कृष्णयजुः। And—शुक्लयजुः or वाजसनेयी संहिता—taking its name from याज्ञवल्क्य वाजसनेय। Of this, there are 2 recensions, काण्व and माध्यन्दिन school. In कृष्णयजुः there are Brahmans or Theological discussions, mixed with the Mantras; whereas शुक्लयजुः contains only the Mantras and sacrificial formulas—consisting partly of verses and partly

of prose sentences. It is the latter which are called "यजु:" ; the prose is occasionally rhythmical and even rises to poetical flight. The Verses are mostly found also in Rig-Veda. The simplest prayer is the dedication of the sacrificial gift with the utterance of the name of the deity to whom it is offered. "Agni is light, light is Agni, hail" (in evening) ; Suryya is light, light is Suryya, hail" (in the morning).*

**Contents of यजुर्वेद—**

The वाजसनेयी संहिता or शुक्लयजुः consists of 40 sections of which the first 25 sections contain prayers for most important great sacrifices, such as : दर्श-पौर्णमास-sacrifices (New and full moon sacrifices) with पिण्ड-पितृयज्ञ *i.e.*, oblation to fathers ; अग्निहोत्र sacrifices offered every morning and evening) ; चातुर्मास्य (sacrifices for seasons) which take place every four months ; it also contains राजसूय (kings' inaugaration sacrifice) ; it also contains अग्निचयन—building of Fire-altar† —a ceremony extending over a whole year to which a deep symbolical meaning is ascribed in the Brahmans ; it also contains अश्वमेध—a horse-sacrifice which only a mighty king might offer etc. One of its sections (XXXI) contains a version of the

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* In शतपथ ब्राह्मण, शुक्लानि यजुंषि are called आदित्यानि—revealed by the sun and the विष्णुपुराण relates that याज्ञवल्क्य received these utterances from the sun, शुक्लयजु: owes its name to this connection with the sun,

† This gave rise to Hindu Science of Geometry, (Vide Sulva-sastra—edited by Dr. Dutta (Published by the University.)

पुंरुषसूक्त in which the origin of the world through the sacrificing of the पुरुष and the identification of world with the पुरुष are taught ;—it is called an उपनिषद्—a secret doctrine. etc. etc.

The last section (XL) contains an Upanishad—the very Upanishad ईश-उपनिषद् । In section XVI of the वाजसनेयी संहिता, we find शतरुद्रीय—the enumeration of 100 names of god रुद्र—which is regarded as a particularly meritorious work of devotion in the later literature. There are other kinds of prayer—and these are single syllables such as "Om"—this is identified with Brahman in the later Upanishads and regarded as inordinately sacred and full of mystical significance.

We find in यजुर्वेद certain "riddles" with which the priests amused themselves. The majority of यजुः formulæ *do not aim at "worshipping"* the gods, but *influencing* or compelling them to fulfil the wishes of the sacrificer, which sometimes consists of enumerating as many names and epithets pertaining to certain gods, in order to obtain something from him.

## VII

## *THE BRĀHMANS AND THE UPANISHADS*

The Brahmans are a collection of utterances and discussions of the priests upon the science of sacrifice ; discussions on the purpose and meanings of sacrifices. They contain cosmogonic myths, ancient legends and narratives. To these are added sym-

bolical interpretations and speculative reasons for the ceremonies and prayers.

To the Rig-Veda belong—ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण and कौषितकी or सांख्यायन Brahman.

To the Sama-Veda belong the ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण called पञ्चविंश ; जैमिनीय ब्राह्मण।

Of the कृष्ण यजुर्वेद is the तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण and to the शुक्लयजुर्वेद belongs the शतपथ ब्राह्मण and this is the most extensive and important in its contents.

There are काण्व and माध्यन्दिन recensions of this Brahmana. At the close of this important work is the old बृहदारण्यक उपनिषद्।

To the अथर्ववेद belongs the गोपथ ब्राह्मण।

The *contents* of the Brahmanas may be arranged under अर्थवाद and विधि। They first give rules for the performance of the single ceremonies and to these, interpretations and explanations of the purpose and meaning of the sacrificial acts are afterwards attached. In countless places in the Brahmanas the *sacrifice* is identified with the god *Vishnu* and equally frequently with the creater *Prajapati*. There are a few places in the Brahmans where *morality* is thought of, as for instance it is said when men told lies they may have success for a time, but they will surely perish in the end. To explain the reason for some ritual act, इतिहास, आख्यान and पुराणs—myths, legends, narratives—are narrated,—e.g. myth of पुरूरवा and उर्वशी in शतपथ ब्राह्मण,—the legend of flood. In ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण, आख्यान हरिश्चन्द्र and शुनःशेफ is found, (गाथाs or verses scattered among prose). The creation-legends are very numerous in the Brahmans,

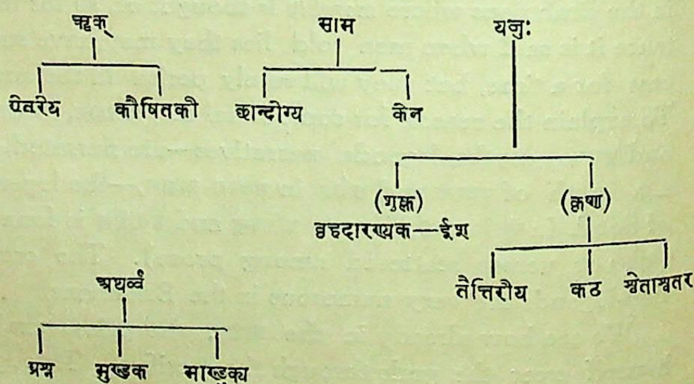
We see how already in the ब्राह्मण, the priest exalts himself over the gods through the sacrifice. Through

asceticism men attain such ascendancy that gods tremble on their thrones. The Epic tells such stories. In Buddhism divine beings dwindle into insignificant beings. Tantras of later times were based upon supernatural power of ceremonies and austerities.

In the Upanishads, kings and warriors are in possession of the highest knowledge and that Brahmins go to them for instruction.

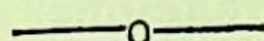
In the Brahmanas or as appendices to them, we find texts which were known as आरण्यकs which must be learnt not in villages but in the forest. The contents of these are mysticism and symbolism of sacrifice and priestly philosophy. The oldest Upanisads are in part included in these आरण्यकs and in part appended to them. These texts formed the 'Vedanta' *i.e.*, 'the *end* of the Veda' chronologically. These texts form the end too of the Veda-recital as a sacred act and religious duty. Later philosophers saw in these doctrines of the Upanishads not the *end*, but the *final aim* of the Veda.

A table is given below of the Vedas and their Upanishads :—



In the Upanishads the highest aim is the union with Brahman and this can be attained only by giving up non-knowledge, by cognition. Only who has recognised the oneness of the soul with the Divine will obtain salvation—complete union with Brahman.

Kings are prepared to present thousands of cows and piles of gold to the Brahmin who can proclaim the doctrine of *Atman*. Brahmins also humble themselves before beggers when these are in possession of higher wisdom. This *yarning for knowledge* finds its most touching expression in the poem of नचिकेता in कठ-Upanishad.



## *UPANISHADS CLASSIFIED*

Not very far removed from the Brahmanas and Aranyakas and before Buddha and before Panini—the six Upanishads—ऐतरेय, बृहदारण्यक, छान्दोग्य, तैत्तिरीय, कौषितकी, केन—Undoubtedly represent the *earliest* stage in the literature of the Upanishads. They contain the Vedanta Doctrine in its pure, original form.

A few Upanishads written in verse entirely or most parts, belong to a period somewhat *later*-probably pre-Buddhistic. *E.g.* कठ, श्वेताश्वतर, ईश, मुण्डक, and प्रश्न। These contain Vedantic doctrine interwoven with सांख्य and योग doctrines.

मैत्रायणी must belong to a considerably later period—post-Buddhistic. It is written in *prose* like the earliest Upanishads ; but this prose does not show any Vedic traces. माण्डूक्य belongs to the same later

period. Sankara mentions neither the मैत्रायणीय nor the माण्डूक्य* उपनिषद् in his commentary.

These 12 Upanishads can only be used as sources for the history of the earliest Indian Philosophy.

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## VIII

## *THE VEDANGAS*

There are Six Vedangas or supplementary Sciences of the Veda. In the Brahmanas and Aranyakas we occasionally find discussions on matters of Kalpas, Phonetics, Grammar, etymology, metrics and astronomy. In course of time, these subjects were treated more systematically and there are special 'manuals'—the

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* Macdonell observes about this Upanishad in this way—"It is chiefly important as having given rise to one of the most remarkable products of Indian philosophy—the Karika (कारिका) of Gauda-pada (गौड़पाद). The esteem in which the Karika is held is indicated by the fact that its parts (specially the *first part*) are reckoned as four Upanishads. It is probable that its author is identical with गौड़पाद, the teacher of गोविन्द whose pupil was the great Sankara. × × Sankara reduced the doctrines of गौड़पाद to a system, as did Plato those of Parmenides. The first part of the Karika is practically a metrical paraphrase of the माण्डूक्य Upanishad. Peculiar to it is the statement that the world is not an illusion, but the very nature or essence (स्वभाव) of Brahman" "The many phenomena of the world are merely the vibrations of the consciousness, which is one" (अलात चक्र—Fire-brand circle.).

sutras composed in prose style intended for memorization—condensed into a few words.

कल्पसूत्रs—arose out of the need for compiling rules for sacrificial ritual in a practically shorter form. कल्पसूत्रs dealing with श्रौत sacrifices taught in the Brahmanas are called श्रौतसूत्रs and those dealing with the domestic ceremonies of daily life—are called the गृह्यसूत्र। (600—200 B.C.)

श्रौतसूत्रs contain directions for laying altars for 3 *fires* 'for अग्निहोत्र sacrifice, new and full moon sacrifice, sacrifices of seasons, Soma-sacrifices &c. which could only be performed by aristocratic and wealthy and kings. Several *priests*, headed by *four* chief *priests* were occupied with intricate rites and ceremonies,

We find in गृह्यसूत्रs genuinely popular customs and usages which refer to conception, birth, the mother and newborn child, name—giving, first feeding of the child, shaving of boy's head, उपनयन or initiation of the pupil, mode of life of a ब्रह्मचारी, the custom of wooing, betrothal and marriage. Here *one fire* of domestic hearth served for the altar, by *one* single *Priest*. Here also "five great sacrifices"—the most religious duties of every head of house-hold—they are—daily sacrifices to gods, demons, fathers, (which consist of laying of a log of wood on sacred fire of hearth, a libation of water, a few scrapes of food), hospitality to a guest, and daily reading of a section of the Veda (sacrifice to ऋषिs). Then अग्निहोत्र, दर्शपौर्णमास, चातुर्मास्य sacrifices are also presented. गृह्यसूत्रs deal also with funeral customs and श्राद्धs। होता invites gods by Verses called अनुवाक्याs and Verses by which he accompanies the gifts are याज्याs.

शस्त्रs are songs of praise recited by होता at सोम sacrifice. स्तोत्रs—chants come *first*, then the recitations (शस्त्रs)। स्तोत्रs are sung by उद्गाता and his assistants at सोम-sacrifice.

These afford us a deep insight into the life of ancient Indian and thus a real treasure to the Ethnologist. These are as it were the "folklore journals" as observed by Winternitz. *Sulva-sutras* directly attached to Srauta-sutras may be mentioned : They contain rules for measurement of fire-altars, and as the oldest works on Indian Geometry are of no little importance.

शिक्षा or Phonetic Directory : "instruction in reciting" *i.e.*, in the correct pronunciation, accentuation etc. of the संहिता-texts. The oldest text-books—the प्रातिशाख्यs by the rules of which one can form संहिता-पाठ from पद-पाठs. ऋग्वेद and तैत्तिरीय—प्रातिशाख्यs are in use. पद-पाठs or 'word-texts' in which the individual words appear separate from the phonetic connection in which they are presented in the संहिता-text. प्रातिशाख्य shows how the पद-texts are converted by Euphonic combination into the संहिता। It treats of definitions, cases, affixes etc.

बृहद्देवता—is an enlarged catalogue of Gods worshipped in separate hymns. It also contains myths and legends referring to these deities and is important from the point of view of narrative literature. [ऋग्विधान—states the magic power which can be obtained by the recitation of each hymn, or even of single verses.] अनुक्रमणी—calculated that it contains 1028 hymns (=10580½ verses=153826 words=432000 syllables).

घनपाठ—Repeat 2 जटापाठ, and taking 3 words at a time : ab, ba, abc, cba, abc. These are used to guard

संहिता from any change or corruption. Other devices are क्रमपाठ, जटापाठ, घनपाठ। (क्रमपाठ—Taking words 2 at a time. जटा—Repeat क्रमपाठ three times, 2nd one being in reverse order, ab, ba, ab).

निरुक्त (Etymology)—Its author is Yaska (यास्क) who lived before Panini (in the 5th cent. B.C.). Its object is etymological explanation of difficult Vedic words. He mentions some schools of interpreters anterior to him who explained vedic words differently. In 12 Chapters, of which the first is an introduction, he explains in 2 Chapters synonymous words (नैघण्टुक), in next 3, single words (नैगम); the last 6, the दैवत i.e. 'deities' addressed in the hymns. Then he adduces as illustration large number of Vedic passages. With शाकटायन, he holds the theory of verbal origin of nouns, (on which the whole system of पाणिनि is founded).

पाणिनि's Grammar—"is one of the most remarkable literary works that the world has ever seen, and no other country can produce any grammatical system at all comparable to it, either for originality of plan or for analytical subtlity." It consists of 8 chapters subdivided into 4 padas. It contains 3996 Aphorisms or सूत्र्s—which are a perfect miracle of condensation. कात्यायन is its Vartika-kara who is criticised by पतञ्जलि in his महाभाष्य—"one of most wonderful works that the genius of any country has ever produced." Kaiyata commented on Patanjali. Vamana's काशिकावृत्ति is a modern commentary on पाणिनि, भट्टोजि दीक्षित's सिद्धान्तकौमुदी following his predecessor प्रक्रिया-कौमुदी—arranged the सूत्रs on a plan in accordance with modern ideas.

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Here is given below some important श्रौतसूत्रs for each of the 5 संहिताs—

ऋग्वेद — आश्वलायन, सांख्यायन and शौनक-श्रौतसूत्र।

सामवेद — लाट्यायन, द्राह्यायन।

कृष्णयजुर्वेद — आपस्तम्ब, बौधायन, हिरण्यकेशी, सनक, लौगाक्षी, कठ etc.

शुक्लयजुर्वेद — कात्यायन

अथर्ववेद — कौशिक।

छन्दः or metre is ascribed to पिङ्गल which may be as old as the 2nd cent. B.C. and treats of प्राकृत as well as Sanskrit metres. गायत्री is held in special veneration, the text of the Rig-Veda being in this metre : It is either of 3 divisions of 8 syllables each ; or of 6 feet of 4 syllables each.

0 0 0 0 ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓ (=पाद of 8 syllables).

Three such lines form गायत्री and four such lines form अनुष्टुभ्।

The following are some of the गृह्यसूत्रs for each of the संहिताs :—

ऋग्वेद — आश्वलायन and सांख्यायन गृह्यसूत्र।

सामवेद — गोभिल

शुक्लयजुर्वेद — पारस्कर

कृष्णयजुर्वेद — बौधायन, आपस्तम्ब, मानव

## *DHARMA-SUTRAS OR LAW-BOOKS.*

"The term धर्मसूत्र is applied to those collections of *Legal* aphorisms which form part of the body of sutras belonging to a particular branch of the Veda". धर्मसूत्र which has remained free from sectarian influence is that of आपस्तम्ब. It deals with the duties of the Vedic student and of the householder, purifications, penances, law of marriage, inheritance and crime. Buhler has assigned it to about 400 B.C. धर्मसूत्र of Hiranya Keshin (हिरण्यकेशी). The third धर्मसूत्र is that of Baudhayana (बौधायन). With these works must be classed the law-book of गौतम। It originally belonged to a Vedic school. It is composed entirely in prose. Another work is धर्मशास्त्र of वशिष्ठ। Its prose is intermingled with त्रिष्टुभ् metre. It quotes from मनु and hence वशिष्ठ's work must be later than that of मनु and earlier than that of गौतम। Particular interest attaches to the sutra of मनु because of its relationship to the famous मानव धर्मशास्त्र।

### 1. The Code of *Manu.* (मनु)।

It presents a picture of institutions, usages, manners and intellectual conditions of the Hindus at a remote period. This code contains 2685 verses. It is an abbreviated version of old collections under the titles वृद्ध and वृहत् मनु, arranged under 24 heads in 1000 chapters. Sir W. Jones holds that Manu's book was drawn up in about 1280 B.C. Elphinstone placed it in 900 B.C. The gods mentioned in it are chiefly Vedic and the caste system is most of पुरुषसूक्त. There is no direct allusion to Buddhism, but

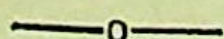
Buddhistic ideas having parallels in the धम्मपद are gaining ground. There is no allusion to *Sati*, nor to the worship of विष्णु and शिव which Magasthenes says prevailed after Alexander's invasion. Nor is there any mention of the stories of महाभारत and रामायण। The Mahabharata—often contains verses identical with those of Manu. It cannot therefore be placed later than 5th cent. B. C. It is in 12 Chapters. The 7th and 8th Books propound rules of Government and Judicature and civil and penal laws and rules of evidence. The 9th Book contains law of Inheritance and division of property.

## 2. The Code of याज्ञवल्क्य।

Its celebrated commentary Mitakshara( मिताक्षरा ) by Vijnanesvara is now the principal authority of the school of Benares and middle India. It is in 3 Books. The second Book of 307 verses (transferred word for word to अग्निपुराण) is on Administrative Judicature and Civil and Criminal Law ( व्यवहार). It is generally placed in the middle of 1st Cent. A.D.

In I. 271-72 there is allusion to shaven heads and yellow garments of the Buddhists but there is no mention of the Buddhists by name.

There are 18 principal Codes posterior to मनु and याज्ञवल्क्य—E.g. अत्रि, हारीत, उशना, पराशर, etc ; विवाद चिन्तामणि and व्यवहार चिन्तामणि of Vachaspati Misra are much read in the *Mithila* school' and स्मृतिचन्द्रिका and दत्तकचन्द्रिका of Devana Bhatta and वैजयन्ती of Nanda Pandit on पराशर code—in the South-Indian School, व्यवहार-मयूख has much weight in Bombay and Maharastra School.



# IX

## *UPA-VEDA*

1. आयुर्वेद or medicine (belonging to अथर्ववेद and by some to the ऋग्वेद) ; 2. गन्धर्ववेद or Science of music (as a branch of सामवेद ) ; 3. धनुर्वेद or military art (connected with यजुर्वेद) ; 4. स्थापत्यवेद or science of architecture including शिल्पशास्त्र (belonging to अथर्ववेद) ।

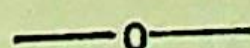
Two medical writers are चरक and सुश्रुत which treat of anatomy, physiology, materia medica, surgery (शल्य), texicology विष. evil influence of planets in causing deseases.—Susruta's work is in 6 books.

Works on **music** treat of notes, scales, melodies, singing, musical instruments, dancing. Six primary modes or modifications of melody called रागs are enumerated which are personified and each of them married to five or six रागिणीs.

The chief musical works are the सङ्गीतरत्नाकर by Sarnga-Deva ; सङ्गीतदर्पण by Damodara ; सङ्गीत दामोदर by Subhankara.

As to **Silpas** or 'mechanical arts', there are 64 treaties, such as architecture, sculpture, carpentry, jwellery etc.

The work on **architecture** is the मानसार (Essence of measurement)—in 58 Chapters giving rules for the construction of buildings, temples, ornamental arches etc. ; soil suited for building etc.



# X

## *THE FIFTH VEDA*

The **Tantras** constitute a fifth Veda for the Saktas or worshippers of active Energysing will (Sakti) of God personified as his wife—female half of his Essence. —"श्रुतिश्च द्विविधा वैदिकी तान्त्रिकी च" (The revelation is two-fold—Vedic and Tantrika)—*Kulluka bhatta* in commenting on Manu II.

According to वायुपुराण, the female nature of *Rudra* became two-fold, one half white (असित) and the other half black (सित), each of these becoming manifold. The white or mild nature includes उमा, गौरी, लक्ष्मी etc. ; the black or fierce nature includes काली, चण्डी, दुर्गा, चामुण्डा etc.

The idea of personifying the Will of a deity is originally suggested by the hymn (129) in ऋग्वेद, मण्डल X. Where will or Desire (काम) the first germ of Mind brought the universe into being.

The mystical texts (मन्त्रs) and magical formulas contained in the Tantras bring them into closer relationship with the Atharva-Veda.

A Tantra, like Purana, ought to treat of five subjects (पञ्चलक्षण)। रुद्रयामल, महानिर्व्वाण, कुलार्णव, श्यामारहस्य, कालिका, प्रपञ्चसार—are much esteemed.

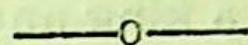
Tantras are generally in the form of a dialogue between Siva and his consort Durga or Parvati.*

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* When the goddess asks the questions as a pupil and Siva replies, they are called "Agamas" (आगम) ; when the Goddess is the teacher and answers Siva's questions, they are 'Nigamas'

Much importance is attached to—मन्त्र (prayer or formula and *vijas*), यन्त्र (diagram of mysterious meaning), न्यास (placing of fingers on parts of body).

Winternitz says—"Some essential traits of तन्त्रs can be found as far back as in the अथर्ववेद, as well as in ब्राह्मणs and उपनिषद्s." "In the 7th and 8th Centuries. Tantras began to penetrate into Buddhism and in the 8th cent., Tantras were translated into Chinese and in 9th cent. into Tibetan also."



(निगम)। "Samhitas" (संहिताs) are of Vaishnavas :—पञ्चरात्र-संहिता। अहिर्बुध्न्य संहिता—A Kashmiri work of 4th Cent. A.D.—ईश्वर कृष्ण's—Sankhya-karika—both refer to षष्टितन्त्र and hence both probably belong to the same period.

# APPENDIX B

## EUROPE'S DEBT TO INDIA

### (*Macdonell's View*)

1. The most intellectual game the world has known began its westward migration from India.—Chess (चतुरङ्ग or the "four-limbed army")—in which two armies consisting of infantry, cavalry, chariots, elephants, each led by a king and his *Mantri* are opposed. Bana (7th cent.) and Rudrata (9th cent.) make the earliest mention of this game. It was introduced into Persia in 6th cent. and then brought by Arabs to Europe where it was known by 1100 A.D.

2. Early Greek and India have many points in common in philosophical literature. The doctrines of Eleatics are to be found in the Upanishads and in Vedanta. Again, the doctrine of Empedocles—that nothing which has not existed before can arise and that nothing can be annihilated—is an echo of the Sankhya—indestructability of matter. The dependence of Pythagoras on Indian philosophy and science has a high degree of probability. The transmigration theory, that of 5 elements, the Pythagorian theorem on Geometry, prohibition of the eating of beans—all these have close parallels in India. Pythagoras could quite well have met Indians in Persia. Neo-Platonist philosophy may have been influenced by Sankhya system —the soul is free from suffering which really belongs

to matter, use of reflecting mirror for explanation of phenomena of consciousness. The influence of Indian philosophy on Christian Gnosticism in the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D. is undoubted. Bardesanes, a Syrian Gnostic (who obtained informations about India from Indian philosophers) assumed the existence of an Ethereal body just like the Sankhya "Linga-Sarira". In Science—

The Indians invented numerical figures—now used all over the world. The decimal system of reckoning was India's invention. In 8th and 9th cent. India taught the Arabs both Arithmetic and Algebra. The Sulva-Sutras far earlier than 100 B.C.—as its Geometry was a part of Brahminical theology, took its rise in India as much as science of Grammar. In Astronomy, however, it is probable that the Indians might derive some idea through their commercial relations with the Phœnocians. It was affected by that of Greece also. In वराहमिहिर's होराशास्त्र are enumerated Sanskrit names translated from the Greek. But in 8th and 9th cent. they became the teachers of Arabs in Astronomy also. The writings of आर्यभट्ट (called Arjehir), and अहर्गण (Arkand) attributed to ब्रह्मगुप्त were translated by the Arabs and through them, Indian Astronomy migrated to Europe. But in the 9th cent. it was the turn of the Arabs, from whom the Indians studied Astronomy and Arithmetic—new Arabic terms were added to the old Greek terms. The effect of Hindu medical science upon the Arabs after about 700 A.D. was considerable and the Khalifs of Bagdad caused several books to be translated : चरक and सुश्रुत were rendered into Arabic at the close of 8th cent.

चरक is repeatedly mentioned in Latin translations of the Arab writers Avicenna, Rhazes and Serapion.

*N. B.* "In modern days, European Surgery has borrowed the operation of rhinoplasty or the formation of artificial nose from India."

3, That the literature of fairy-tales and fables were the invention of India and that for it Europe was indebted to India—has been already stated.

*THE END,*

## Works by the Same Author :

# 1. Sree Gopal Basu Mallick Fellowship Lectures : 1930.

1. *A. Berriedale Keith, D. Litt.*—"I congratulate you on this new and excellent appreciation of the realistic elements in the conceptions of the greatest of Indian philosophers. Chapters VIII and IX bring out very effectively your re-interpretation of the Master's ideas and your views must receive the most careful consideration from any student of Sankara, who desires to arrive at a sound understanding of the tenets of Sankara. It is of the highest value to have due stress laid upon a very different and in many ways more important side of Sankara's intellectual activity. I have no doubt your book will be welcomed and appreciated."

2. *Prof : James H. Woods* :—Harvard : "The work of this scholar—Kokileswar Sastri—has always interested me, both for its thoroughness and faithfulness to older interpretation...... Thank you most heartily for this valuable gift."

3. *Prof : E. J. Rapson Esq.*—Cambridge : "Your book appeared to me to fulfil its object admirably. You have set forth Sankara's Vedanta as far as possible in Sankara's own words and you have shown that the Vedanta may have a practical application to life and it need not be regarded as a purely speculative system."

4. *Prof : Sten Konow, Ph. D.* Norway : "It is not often that I have derived more pleasure and learnt more from a book dealing with Indian philosophy than in this case. Pandit Kokileswar is a real Pandit, with a rare insight into Sankara's system and methods and with independence in his interpretation. I have read this excellent book with the utmost interest."

5. *Prof : F. Otto Scrader, Ph. D.*—Keil. "Mr. Kokileswar's work strikes me by its great clearness and very useful references,......very valuable gift which is particularly welcome to me."

6. *Dr. L. Stcherbatsky*, Russia. "I am full of admiration for your profound knowledge."

7. *The Vedanta Keshari of Madras* ; Feb., 1932 : "His Lectures form a piece of original research in Adwaita philosophy --perhaps a unique book of its type written in recent times...... Expounded his views in perfect consistency with the principles of logic but also supported his statements with profuse quotations from the original writings of Sankara."

## 2. Introduction to Adwaita Philosophy.

1. *Professor A. Berriedale Keith, D. Litt., D.C.L.* Edinburgh :—"..........A remarkably able and highly interesting contribution to the interpretation of Sankara. Its collection of passages alone would be of very high value, for the extent of Sankara's writings is so great as to render easy reference impossible without such aid, and I fully appreciate the labour which has been involved in the selection of the texts cited. Even greater value applies to your powerful exposition of the realistic element in Sankara.

2. *Professor Julius Jolly, Ph. D.* of Wurzburg :—"This work contains an excellent exposition, I think, of the main principles of the Adwaita system and an equally excellent vindication of this against the reproaches raised by scholars wrongly interpreting its technical terms."

3. *Sir George A. Grierson, K.C.I.E., Ph. D., D. Litt., LL. D.*, late Vice-President, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland :—"......I have read a good deal of it and found it very interesting and instructive......your book shows evidence of much original research."

4. *Dr. L. D. Barnett*, Oriental Studies, London Institution (University of London) :—"......Your book is a work of considerable merit."

5. *Professor Hermann Jacobi, Ph. D.*, University of Bonn, Germany ;—"......I have read this novel exposition of Sankara's system with interest and profit......It is an admirable book......".

6. *Dr. M. E. Senart* of Paris—"Your deep justice to the old master—Sankara—and your remarkable command of the difficult literary materials cannot but meet the grateful acknowledgment of all interested in this line of research."

7. *Prof. S. V. Lesney, Ph. D.*, of Prague :—"………The teaching of your great countryman—Sankara—has been treated by you in a very happy way and to much profit of your readers."

8. *Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins, Ph. D., LL. D.*; Yale University, :—"………My final judgment is that you have made a most important contribution to our knowledge of Sankara's Philosophy……"

9. *Prof. D. Johannes Hertel, Professor of Sanskrit.*, University of Leipzig, Germany :—"……No doubt this work is extremely useful, lucid in style, and independent, in the representation of Sankara's doctrine. It remarkably marks a decided step in advance……"

10. *Prof. Richard Garbe, Ph. D.*, of the University of Tubingen :—"It is more than its title indicates : not only an able Introduction, but a very important contribution to the history of Indian Philosophy."

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